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THE CHRISTIANIZATION AND EDUCATION OF SLAVES AND APPRENTICES IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES: THE IMPACT OF EVANGELICAL MISSIONARIES (1800-1838).

by

© Patricia T. Rooke

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND
RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
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1977

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "The Christianization and Education of Slaves and Apprentices in the British West Indies, 1800-1838," submitted by Patricia T. Rooke in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History of Education.

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Date 27th June, 1977

DEDICATION

To my beloved Rudy — for reasons he will understand.

ABSTRACT

This study offers an historical explanation of the changing nature of missionary education to slaves and apprentices in the British colonies of Antigua, British Guiana and Jamaica, for the period 1800 to 1838 when slavery officially ended. The educational forms, the assumptions behind them, and the beliefs, motivations and attitudes of the educators and the educated are explored, utilizing the perspectives of the missionaries of four societies representing Wesleyan Methodist, Baptist, Independent, and Church interests. These perspectives are expressed largely through missionary correspondence. Some attempt has also been made to explain why the "educated," that is, the christianized slaves and apprentices, responded so enthusiastically to the means of education provided.

The time period selected is one of sustained and organized missionary endeavour in christianizing slaves and apprentices. The study is structured in such a way as to be divided into three parts; part one dealing with the background to missionary exertions in the West Indies, part two with the years of slavery, and part three with the four year apprenticeship after the 1834 Act of Emancipation. The peak of missionary endeavour was reached during the transition period of apprenticeship between 1834 and 1838. During this period missionary thrust concentrated as much on training apprentices for freedom as in Christianizing them.

In addition to considering the changing nature of education provided by the missionaries the study explores the relationships between the major reference groups — missionaries, planters and slaves. During the transitional years there can be discerned perceptible shifts of missionary attitudes both towards their clients and towards the planters. These shifts and attitudes were reciprocated.

It is concluded that the missionaries' educational efforts, no matter how limited these proved to be, should in the final analysis be seen not merely as another force conserving the existing social order but as a powerful change agent in the British West Indies.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Finally I wish to acknowledge a debt to my parents who embarked their children upon a love for learning and who worked so hard for so little return that their children might "have an education."

ABBREVIATIONS

Baptist Missionary Society Archives	BMSA
British and Foreign Schools Society	BFSS
Church Missionary Society Archives	CMSA
Colonial Office	CO
Infant and Colonial Schools Society	ICSS
London Missionary Society Archives	LMSA
Public Records Office	PRO
Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Archives	WMMSA
Lambeth Palace Library	LPL
British Guiana, Demerara	Br. G/D
British Guiana, Berbice	Br. G/B
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts	SPG

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the last several decades of scholarship, in the field of sociological and anthropological culture-contact theory, there appears to have been a trend to assume many disintegrative effects of missionary activities in 'pristine' societies. The arguments tend to suggest that missionaries, with their intentional introduction of western values, destroyed viable values in the process and introduced non-functional ones. Historians have argued similarly, not so much to offer moral judgments on the facts of history but to demonstrate that missionary activity and imperialist advance were mutually compatible, if not mutually inclusive.[1] In the case of the British West Indies it seems appropriate to inquire whether this was the case. Did the plantocracy see the missionaries as part of their social order and did the missionary presence help maintain the traditional ordering of slave society? Was missionary education just another form of social control? Did missionary contact with slaves destroy 'pristine' values and weaken cultural cohesion by the introduction of new values?

In attempting to understand the unique case of the British West Indian experience in relation to the evangelization of slaves and apprentices this study will attempt an historical explanation of the changing nature of the education provided by missionaries by utilizing the perspectives of the missionaries or "educators" themselves. In addition it will enquire how and why the "educated", or slaves and apprentices, responded to the education provided.

It can safely be assumed that the missionary saw his influence not as destructive nor even negative but rather as a positive contribution to an already demoralized clientele. He sincerely believed that the introduction of Christianity would make fuller participation in the dominant culture possible. It is essential to enquire whether these two assumptions were warranted. It might also be asked whether the racial attitudes and practices of the missionary toward the slave were in any way different from the white dominant culture of which the missionary was part. Were the missionaries entirely men of their own time imbued with all the beliefs and constraints of their particular century and compelled by the particular convictions toward race and education of their society? Was the education offered to slaves and apprentices in any way qualitatively different from that offered to the "lower orders" in England? In short, was it a class-oriented education or a race-oriented one in this particular case?

To accomplish the major purpose of the study other questions must be considered. What beliefs influenced evangelization in the British West Indies in the latter years of slavery when missionary impetus reached new significance? And were these beliefs transferred into the apprenticeship period? It seems crucial to draw attention to whether such beliefs were congruent with, or in opposition to, the society at large. What beliefs and practices were common to missionary groups? And in what respects did they differ from one another? How did these beliefs and practices affect the perceptions of slaves and ex-slaves and perhaps contribute to their feelings of self-worth, or to their social mobility? Finally, in what educational forms, both broad and specific, were these beliefs and efforts manifested?

It is then necessary not only to consider how the missionaries perceived the slaves, but also to understand how they perceived themselves in a slave society both in relationship to their clients and to the dominant white class. As far as the materials will permit, it is also necessary to consider the slave and ex-slave perceptions of his own evangelization. Finally the viewpoints of the planters themselves must be examined. How did the planters perceive missionary efforts at Christianizing slaves? As the planters were not only the most articulate members of society, but also the dominant power group, their perceptions of missionary activity and education can help provide insights into the missionary perceptions of their own situation.

The matter of slave perceptions remains a major problem and a major limitation. The slaves are an example of the "mute" of history – those relatively inarticulate and powerless groups of society — the illiterate, the poor, and the oppressed. The researcher is faced with the enormous task of tapping the responses of such groups. Forming conclusions about how these groups felt and thought is difficult and must frequently be based on inference. Conclusions about slaves must be arrived at by looking at materials about slaves from the points of view of other groups, such as missionary accounts, planter comments, or newspaper commentary. Materials about slaves and apprentices are thus mostly derivative and are drawn from the observations of one part of society about another part of society. The bias of such reports is clearly another limitation to the study and must be taken into account not only when dealing with slaves and apprentices but with other matters also.

If the focus of the study is primarily from the point of view of the educators themselves, then clearly missionary correspondence will provide a large part of the evidence. This represents a further limitation. Missionaries may have often inflated their figures of school and church attendance, or the numbers of conversions, or the impact of their evangelization. They may well have seen an abundance of radically changed behaviours when in fact they were minimal or motivated more by expedience than by conviction. Simply, one cannot always believe what the missionaries had to say. This is not to accuse them of deliberately falsifying their evidence (although a historian cannot discount that possibility either); but obviously the study has limitations which are derived primarily from the materials used for evidence. We are all of us subjected to our own particular emotional responses and often see that which we want to see or report that which we think is required of us to report, or report that which we view to our own advantage or the advantage of the group we represent. Too often we include certain evidences to the exclusion of others, or even distort evidences for various reasons. Missionaries were subject to this no more and no less than any other given group of historical actors.

This, however, is a problem and a limitation recognized by all historians when they approach their materials. There are, of course, also the additional limitations derived from the historian's "selective" use of materials — that is, his inclusion of what he deems important to his study, often to the exclusion of other materials. In this study a further limitation is recognized in the selection of materials used. Such materials consist of letters, communications, reports, committee minutes, diaries, and journals. As the last two, diaries and journals, were also subject to scrutiny by missionary societies who extracted portions of them for publication, all the materials used deal with the public acts and statements of missionaries, written, we presume, for public consumption and with little introspection. The line of approach adopted to these materials will avoid imposing sociological or psychological interpretations.

A final limitation to the study is of a more objective nature. It is the destruction of considerable amounts of material during the bombing of London in World War II. There are "gaps" in some of the archives which can never be filled, the materials having never been duplicated. These are documents sadly lost to history. Some reasonable extrapolation by the researcher has been necessary wherever this is the case.

In addition to those limits set by the nature of the materials used and of the study itself, the researcher must set certain delimitations to the scope of the research. These include the chronological boundaries, the historical divisions, the geographical areas, and the choice of missionary societies. In addition, the actors must be delimited in this case to the missionaries and the slaves and apprentices which cannot include missionary work with white people or free coloured population In the case of British Guiana, the Indians have not been considered.

The chronological boundaries of the study extend over an approximate span of thirty-eight years, that is, from 1800-1838. It was not until after 1800 that missionary activity became systematic and sustained; it continued in this pattern until the fourth decade of the nineteenth century. At the conclusion of apprenticeship in 1838 the four societies under examination were becoming increasingly uninterested in the West Indies and beginning the process of withdrawal from that area.

The historical divisions include the periods of Slavery and Apprenticeship. Such divisions are acknowledged political, economic and psychological periods in the history of the British West Indies. They have heuristic value as well as a factual basis. Slavery and apprenticeship will serve as landmarks in the attempt to distinguish what "forms" evangelization took in each of the identifiable periods, what perceptions and assumptions can be traced and how they altered over time.

The geographical areas include Antigua, Jamaica and British Guiana. These will be treated as "representative" of the British West Indies in the nineteenth century. They will also be used to identify the similarities of evangelization rather than the differences. The unique historical conditions relating to the political, economic, and social spheres of each colony will be treated through secondary source materials and then only as they are related to the questions raised from the primary source materials. The three areas provide the contrast between those colonies such as Jamaica and British Guiana which had apprenticeship between 1834 and 1838 and Antigua which did not have apprenticeship but granted freedom to the slaves in 1834. Moreover, in each of the areas one of the three missionary societies was dominant, e. g., the Baptist Missionary Society in Jamaica, the Methodist Missionary Society in Antigua and the London Missionary Society in British Guiana. The Church Missionary Society was active in all three areas, although always subordinate to other missionary societies, and retained a peculiar and often strained relationship with the Established Church.

The four missionary societies whose archival materials will provide the substance for much of the study are the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS), the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS), the London Missionary Society (LMS) and the Church Missionary Society (CMS). These four societies were active in all three geographical areas during the chronological and historical periods previously delimited. The four societies have several attributes in common which make them complementary for the purpose of this study. Firstly, they were all born out of the Evangelical revivals and Pre-Abolition sentiments of the late eighteenth century. Secondly, they were all London based. This is important because the Parent Societies were therefore subjected to similar economic vicissitudes, similar social changes and similar pressures of public opinion.

Thirdly, they all had similar organizational structures based on the voluntary principles of scientific philanthropy. Fourthly, the four Societies concentrated attention on the West Indies after Abolition (1807) but were constrained by the nature of slave society within whose framework they were obliged to work. They began their work in "earnest" in the second decade of the Nineteenth Century, sustained their efforts until emancipation (1834) despite difficulties, and they consolidated their activities during the Apprenticeship and into the first years of freedom. Finally, the four Societies in the colonies were subject to similar patterns of recruitment, financing, pastoral and educational responsibilities.

As noted above the sources used in the study consist mainly of correspondence between missionaries in the British West Indies and "evangelicals" representing the parent missionary societies in London. It is from such sources that one can derive, to some extent missionary perceptions of themselves as well as the planter response to missionary presence, and the slave and apprentice response to the missionary impact. The materials consist of

1) Outgoing letters and correspondence. These were sent from the missionary societies in London and on occasion from friends in England or other missionaries in various parts of the West Indian Islands. They consist of advice, admonition, receipts, instructions and business matters. They often provide an excellent reflection of Evangelical public opinion in England.

2) Incoming Letters and correspondence. These consist of replies to the above correspondence or initial correspondence which

evoked replies from the societies. They include requests, reports, grievances, and range from financial statements to "cries of despair." They generally reflect the thoughts and perceptions of their writers as missionaries. Missionary letters to other missionaries are included in this classification.

3) Annual Reports from Societies, Annual and Quarterly Reports from West Indian Auxiliaries, Returns, Committee Minutes and Circular Letters. Although these tend to be of a more formal nature they often contain suggestions, allusions and personal notations which are helpful to the researcher.

4) Journals, Diaries, Memoirs, Speeches. Missionaries generally were required to keep a journal or a diary, usually for the perusal of the home society to be extracted and put into the official published organs of the society as a means of communicating missionary activities to the society's subscribers and the general public. Although the "public" nature of much within these journals is recognized there is a good deal of personal experience related in them.

5) Tracts and Newspapers. These provide insights into missionary activities and planter responses to these activities. Official publications of the parent Societies provide similar insights.

Other sources of primary materials from planters and missionaries are found in the Colonial Office records, kept at the Public Records Office (PRO). Delegations to the Colonial Secretaries and to Governors are reported in this collection of documents. Additional information is obtained from the Fulham Papers at Lambeth Palace in care of the Church Commissioners, Millbank, London.

Many of the LMS and BMS missionaries worked in conjunction with the British and Foreign Schools Society (BFSS), basing their philosophy and methods of formal education on the Lancasterian system. Much valuable correspondence is available in the BFSS archives at the Borough Road College, London, the original training institution of the Society.

Finally, additional primary source materials written by clerics, dissenters, influential members of missionary societies, leading evangelicals, planters, travellers and missionaries, are to be found in the collections of the British Museum Library, London. These are deemed important materials because they often reflect the contemporary responses of the historical period being studied without the intrusions of "presentism" sometimes found in recent accounts of the same events. They make an understanding of the historical actors and the recreation of the past events easier.

An introduction to a study of this kind ought to attempt some justification for the study itself. It ought to ask — what significance will the research and its findings have? What contribution might it make to its field? This study will contribute to two areas. First, to the history of missionary activity and slavery, and second, to the history of education. Both contributions seem necessary given the dearth in the literature of slavery which specifically examines the education of slaves by missionaries and particularly the education of the West Indian slave and apprentice.

The historiography of slavery has gained impetus with the increasing awareness of the historical roots of problems of race relations.[2] Not surprisingly United States historians have been especially energetic in their contributions to the lively debate on the "American Dilemma" and have established relationships between it and "the Peculiar Institution." In turn comparative histories have contributed to the discussion by stressing the similarities and differences between one slave society and another, for example between the Luso-Iberian Catholic slave society of South America and the Anglo-American Protestant slave culture of the United States and British Caribbean.[3]

As yet relatively little depth research dealing specifically with the problem of slavery in the unique historical context of the West Indian situation has been done. Exceptions are Orlando Patterson's A Sociology of Slavery, (1967); Elsa V. Goveia's Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the End of the Eighteenth Century, (1965); and J. Harry Bennet's Bondsmen and Bishops: Slavery and Apprenticeship on the Codrington Plantations of Barbados, 1710 - 1838, (1958). However, the tendency has been to include the subject of slavery as part of more general West Indian histories which examine the broader society or as part of the British Abolition and Emancipation Movements. Examples of this approach can be seen in Edward Braithwaite, The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770 - 1820, (1971); Lowell J. Ragatz, The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1763 - 1833, (1928); Carl Bridenbaugh and Roberta Bridenbaugh, No Peace Beyond the Line, (1972). Social histories of slavery related to the economics of sugar production include Richard Sheridan, Sugar and Slavery, (1974) and

Richard S. Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, (1972). One ought to mention W. L. Burn's Emancipation and Apprenticeship in the British West Indies, (1937) because of its detailed account of apprenticeship as an integral part of slavery and Frank K. Klingberg's study of slavery titled Codrington Chronicles: An Experiment in Anglican Altruism on a Barbados Plantation, 1710 - 1834, (1949). Jerome S. Handler, The Unappropriated People, (1974), points the way to similar research on slaves as he did on the free coloured population of Barbados. Philip D. Curtin's Two Jamaicas: The Role of Ideas in a Tropical Colony 1830 - 1865, (1970) is an excellent intellectual history which ably describes the inter-relationships of blacks and whites in Jamaica. Chapter VIII "Race, Religion and Social Adjustment" is particularly pertinent to this thesis.

The relationship between missionary activity, slavery, and education is best understood by viewing evangelization as part of a broad educational process known as "civilizing" in the nineteenth century. It extended from the pulpit and classroom into everyday life, from the particular to the general and from the formal to the informal. Concrete educational efforts can be readily identified in such areas as attendance and retention figures, approaches to discipline, school buildings, equipment, curriculum and teaching methods. The forms of schooling although always seen as subordinates to "salvation" were part of the evangelization of the West Indies. In many ways missionary education is the most concrete example of an "Evangelical" education. It was a reflection of the philosophy and practices of the education offered to the lower classes in nineteenth century Britain.

Generally, because of the historical anomalies that rendered knowledge and slavery incompatible in both American slave historiography as well as West Indian slave historiography formal educational institutions have not been studied. A neglect of formal education is not too extraordinary when one considers that compulsory education or even non-compulsory forms of education were not common for freemen and even less likely for bondsmen. Studies of the "education" of slaves primarily examine aspects of his "seasoning" and his "socialization," that is as both the intentional aspects of those learning experiences forced upon him by his condition, and the unintentional aspects of his learning experiences gained by his total situation, his condition and his relationships with his own population (the slaves). The slave learned not only from the dominant class but also from his peers. American historiography once again provides us with studies of these sorts of learning experiences in the seminal work by Kenneth Stampp, The Peculiar Institution, (1956), part of which contains a detailed account of the slave's "seasoning." R. W. Fogel and S. L. Engerman's Time on the Cross, (1974) also gives an analysis based on an integration of quantitative data of factors involved in apprenticeship, industrial work and the skills learned, as well as an examination of work habits, social attitudes, responses and expectations of slaves.

Following Stampp's interest in the "seasoning" processes of slaves, Stanley Elkins[4] examined psycho-sociologically the socialization of slaves, that is, the total process involved in producing certain modes of behaviour and types of personality. In rejection of static models and Elkins' "Sambo" stereotyping, historians such as Gerald W. Mullen in Flight and Rebellion, (1972), argue the slave resisted his socialization as well as assimilated it. The indispensability of the whip to slavery indicates that such socialization was not as thorough, nor as successful, as Elkins might suggest. George Rawick, From Sundown to Sunup, (1972) and John Blassingame, The Slave Community, (1972) point to the intricate social relationships which developed within the slave community itself, apart from the white society, and the patterns of functional social conduct which emerged from the total slave situation. The slave's personality, his involvement in family life and community consciousness were as much formed by slave society as the society of masters.

Such studies point to the necessity of an examination of the slave's education which includes both the more formal aspects and the more informal settings of church, family and community. In this respect a study of missionary education is seen as following in the "new school" of historiography which looks at the institutions and the larger society and how they worked to socialize the slave and freedman, often making him as much a part of as well as apart from the larger society. This new school examines how the slave and ex-slave was trained to be a field hand, an industrial labourer, a skilled worker, a family man or a preacher. Similarly the central concern of the study is to ask how the missionaries influenced the slave and ex-slave to be a Christian, not only intentionally but by the impact of their broader activities, that is, not only by means of formal instruction but in their general contribution in developing attitudes and forming behaviour. There are precedents for this "new school" in the history of education too. Historians such as Bernard Bailyn, Education and the Forming of American Society, (1960), and John Calam, Parsons and Pedogogues (1971) point the way to a study of history of education derived from the broader cultural context and not confining itself as it so often did in the past to desks and chalk, or to Acts, Bills and Institutions.

Recent studies have tended to give a more sympathetic approach to the functionality of "black religion." Perhaps Eugene Genovese's most recent book, Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made (1974) best represents this approach.[5] Christianizing can also be seen as the means by which black leaders were formed and recruited. It also provided the vehicle of creativity, self-expression and articulation of black emotion. In the case of societies evangelized by missionaries it provided a minority of slaves and ex-slaves with some literacy skills.[6] The study will adopt this more sympathetic approach in relation to the British West Indies and consider to what extent the Christianization and education by missionaries was more than just another form of social control over slaves and apprentices.

There are comparatively few works dealing specifically with missionary activity with slaves in the British West Indies. A recent and definitive work is William A. Green, British Slave Emancipation (1976). Green's chapter "Religion and Education" remains within the general interpretation which sees missionary activity as an imposition upon the slave and apprenticed populations and their forms of education as an instrument of social control — "a means by which the established classes could tame the multitudes, repress social barbarism, and preserve their own superior status."[7] The present study will attempt to discover to what extent this thesis is consistent with the evidence, keeping in mind the social-conflict interpretations of British charity schooling, adult popular education, and Sunday schooling.[8] For it is possible to see these expressions of religious benevolence in a less negative light, that is less as impositions on the "lower orders" and more as expressions of working class activity in the ordering of their own lives.

Generally, most studies dealing with the West Indian experience see missionary education in as unfavourable a light as does Green. Examples of articles arguing similarly include James Latimer's "The Foundations of Religious Education in the British West Indies,"[9] and Rodney Bain, "Missionary Activity in the Bahamas, 1700 - 1830."[10] O. W. Furley, "Protestant Missionaries in the West Indies: Pioneers of a New Racial Society"[11] offers an unusual and tantalizing view of missionary education as the title of his article suggests.

Eric Williams, "Education in the British West Indies (1968)" and Shirley C. Gordon, "A Century of West Indian Education" are useful compendiums and surveys but offer little else. Not unnaturally several theses offer much more but concentrate predominantly on the Jamaican experience. Dissertations dealing with missionary education include K. V. B. Donaldson, "The Contribution of the Baptist

Missionaries to Education in Jamaica During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century, 1814 - 1867, (1967);" Gordon Catharall, "The Baptist Missionary Society and Jamaican Emancipation, 1814 - 1845, (1966);" and Mary Reckord, "Missionary Activity in Jamaica Before Emancipation (1964)."[12]

A comment might be made about the omission of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel although it officially represented Church interests in the colonies. Apart from the Codrington Plantations in Barbadoes the SPG worked primarily with the white and free coloured population. It exerted noticeable effort with slaves after Parliament increased funds to the Established Church and gave legal recognition for the instruction of slaves under the Melioration Act implemented by 1824. This work covers four evangelical missionary societies which worked among slaves without such legal and financial support before that date. The SPG's work has been studied by Frank Klingberg, Codrington Chronicles (1949) and J. Harry Bennett, Bondsmen and Bishops (1958).

Both West Indian history of slavery and education need further research into specific areas and problems. A study of missionary education, the slaves' and apprentices' response to it, and the forms which it took, will help fill-out a history of a topic, a period, and an area which is still bare-boned.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

[1] Eric Williams, Capitalism and Slavery (London: Andre Deutsch, 1964); and Klaus Knorr, British Colonial Theories, 157-1850 (University of Toronto Press, 1944) are representative of this school. Max Warren, Social History and Christian Mission (London: S. C. M. Press, 1967) and The Missionary Movement From Britian in Modern History (London: S. C. M. Press, 1965) re-examine this interpretation.

[2] There is a vast body of literature on race relations which refer to slavery including Magnus Morner, Race Relations in the History of Latin America (Boston: Little Brown, 1967); Pierre L. Van den Berghe, Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective (New York: John Wiley, 1967); David Brion Davis, The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966); and Winthrop D. Jordon, White Over Black (University of North Carolina Press, 1968).

[3] A few noteworthy examples include Frank Tannenbaum, Slave and Citizen (New York: Vintage Books, 1946); Gilberto Freyre, The Masters and the Slaves (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), Herbert Klein, Slavery in Cuba and Virginia (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), Franklin W. Knight, Slave Society in Cuba During the Nineteenth Century (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), Laura Foner and Eugene D. Genovese, Slavery in the New World: A Reader in Comparative History (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1969). Other studies deal with specific aspects of slavery (e. g., treatment of slaves) or are detailed regional studies, such as Richard Wade, Slavery in the Cities: The South 1820 - 1866 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), Robert S. Starobin, Industrial Slavery in the Old South (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), Charles S. Sydnor, Slavery in Mississippi (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966), and Gerald W. Mullen, Flight and Rebellion (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).

[4] Stanley Elkins, Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life (2nd ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

[5] Eugene Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll (New York: Pantheon, 1971). See the section called "Black Conversion and White Sensibility," pp. 183-193 and 711-713. Genovese has also written The

Political Economy of Slavery (New York: Random House, 1971) and The World the Slaveholders Made (New York: Vintage Books, 1971).

[6] Just as the sort of education offered to their clients was so often identical to that which was offered to the lower orders in England, so the processes of "christianizing" and the aims of "conversion" were frequently identical to that taking place in England in the Sunday and Charity schools. See Bernard Semmel, The Methodist Revolution (New York: Basic Books, 1973) and E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (London: Pelican Books, 1963).

[7] William A. Green, British Slave Emancipation: The Sugar Colonies and the Great Experiment 1830 - 1865 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. 327.

[8] For example, Thomas Walter Laqueur, Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture 1780-1850 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976); M. G. Jones, The Charity School Movement: A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action (London: Frank Cass, 1964); and Harold Silver, The Concept of Popular Education (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1965). See Lois W. Banner, "Religious Benevolence as Social Control: A Critique of an Interpretation," Journal of American History 60 (June 1973) : 23-41.

[9] James Latimer, "The Foundations of Religious Education in the British West Indies," in Brian Holmes, editor, Educational Policy and the Mission Schools (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967).

[10] Rodney Bain, "Missionary Activity in the Bahamas, 1700 - 1830," The Journal of Negro Education 24 (Fall 1965) : 435-442.

[11] O. W. Furley, "Protestant Missionaries in the West Indies: Pioneers of a New Racial Society," Race 6 (January 1965) : 232-242.

[12] K. V. B. Donaldson, "The Contribution of the Baptist Missionaries to Education in Jamaica During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century, 1814-1867" (University of London, 1967); Gordon Catharall, "The Baptist Missionary Society and Jamaican Emancipation, 1814-1845" (University of Liverpool, 1966), and Mary Reckord, "Missionary Activity in Jamaica Before Emancipation" (University of London, 1964).

PART I

THE BACKGROUND

> Go forth into all the world and preach the Gospel, and lo, I am with you always, even unto the ends of the earth.
>
> Mat. 28:16

> . . . and here at last there might be a sanctuary, a land of religion and piety, where . . . mankind might be able to see what is in truth the religion of Jesus, and what are its blessed effects, and whence if the mercy of God should so ordain it, the means of religious instruction and consolation might be again extended to surrounding countries and the world at large.
>
> William Wilberforce (1797).

CHAPTER II

THE URGE TO EVANGELIZATION

Introduction

The drumming out of "Onward Christian Soldiers" in the late nineteenth century and its accompanying imperative of trusteeship were based on earlier influences of the evangelical discipline. The evangelicals of the previous century, too, had deemed it both a calling and a duty to civilize the rest of the world in addition to civilizing and christianizing England.[1]

There had been little consistent missionary work of any sort in the West Indies until the second half of the eighteenth century when the Unitas Fratrum, more usually called the Moravians, began what was virtually to become a rash of denominational proseltyzing in the Caribbean. The islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, St. John, Jamaica, Antigua, Barbadoes, and Tobago all saw the establishment of Moravian missions between 1782 and 1790. The missionaries, often themselves slave owners, became part of the plantation system and were dependent upon planter patronage. Their whole spirit was to work within the framework of society as they found it.[2] Despite the demands written into the 1696 Slave Code "that all masters, mistressess, overseers, and employers are to endeavour as much as possible in the instruction of their slaves" in the Christian religion this was neither being done in Jamaica or elsewhere in the West Indies. Missionaries were sent out to rectify the situation.[3] Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists, members of the Church of Scotland, Independents, and Anglicans, soon followed, so that by the turn of the century a dedicated band of enthusiasts were preaching throughout most of the West Indies — preaching simply and boldly, as were their evangelical brethren in England. These missionaries were the agents of the various missionary societies founded and funded by those evangelicals at home who were imbued with Wesley's passion for souls, a "peculiar people" who saw the world as their parish. They were to fulfill the command to "Go forth into all the world and preach the Gospel."

The first four decades of the nineteenth century were thus characterized by greatly increased missionary activities in the various far-flung posts of the Empire including the proseltyzing of the West Indian slave and apprentice populations. What reasons might be given for this urge to evangelize the world? What were the factors in eighteenth and nineteenth century British society which stimulated the missionary impulse and caused the public to support missionary exertions?

The primary thrust toward missionary activity came out of the evangelical revivals which resulted in the growth of an unprecedented religious enthusiasm at home. Second, the Established Church at home was in a deplorable state as was the Church in the West Indies and certainly in no position to minister adequately to the slave population. Third, there occurred a theological shift which culminated in a more optimistic view of mankind and its improvability. Fourth, the slave became an object of sentimental humanitarianism, one worthy of compassion, salvation, and eventually emancipation. The fifth reason has already been alluded to — the belief that christianizing and civilizing the poor heathen was every Christian's obligation. The remainder of this chapter will examine these five factors in some detail.

Enthusiasm at Home

The eighteenth century Established Church of England has been subjected to numerous accusations of deficiency. In the eyes of its critics its besetting sins were profligacy, pluralism, nepotism, ignorance, heterodoxy and apathy. These left that sorry Church with few virtues with which to attract those spiritual malcontents who have been notorious in history for plaguing the church with their "enthusiasm."[4] However, if the episcopate and the latitudinarians lacked a passion for souls, they also frowned upon the peculiarities associated with extemporare praying and preaching in chapel or in the fields, for they simply could not conceive where such liberties might lead. The Anglican hierarchy was suspicious of the enthusiasm of converts and their various rude behaviours.[5] They could not believe that dunces, knaves, and blockheads could claim revelation and being "called," convert sinners.[6] Associated with the "methodistical" revivals were fits, faintings, yappings, ardours, transports and various other bizarre physical manifestations of the Holy Ghost.[7] That the Holy Ghost was responsible for such effects was incomprehensible to members of the respectable Church of England at home or abroad. Surely He must inspire more becoming behaviours than these? A Christian gentleman simply did not babble unintelligible nonsense; he did not rant irrationally, nor rebuke and reproach immoderately; he was not given to effusion of frenzy. Enthusiasts were attacked not "for want of talent, but for want of modesty, want of sense, and want of rational religion."[8]

Although obtrusive display of religious emotion was offensive and vulgar to the Established Church it managed to produce its own evangelical party of "true and vital" Christians. Some of these left the ranks to join the Whitfieldians and Wesleyans but many remained and conformed to the thirty-nine articles. Working within the fold of the Established Church they practised either a mild Calvinism or a zealous Arminianism. "Justified by faith" and "sanctified through Grace" – these were the tenets that Methodists, dissenters, and Church evangelicals all agreed upon despite their differing theological beliefs. From their certainty of their salvation they drew upon a large surplus of benevolent energies and glorified and served God in a multitude of useful causes.

With enterprising and unflagging zeal they heroicly battled against every conceivable vice, real and exaggerated, in their efforts to bring about George III's "reformation of manners."[9] They opposed lotteries, drunkenness, obscenity, bull-baiting, atheists, brothel-keepers, radicals, dance-halls, fairs, gypsies, and sabbath breakers, with equal ardour and equal discrimination. They endowed, subscribed to, and founded numerous societies on the voluntary principle. These included the Bible society, Missionaries to Africa and the East, The Society for Christianity Among Jews, The Proclamation Society against Vice and Immorality, Sunday schools, bettering societies, manufacturing poor societies, climbing boys' asylums, fever institutions, infirmaries, penitentaries, lying-in hospitals, lunatic asylums, and anti-slavery societies. They zealously helped infirm and/or distressed gentlewomen, juvenile mendicants, fallen women, and orphans.[10] They passionately rescued the labourer from his gin, the prostitute from her earnings, the cleric from his nominalism, and the rake from his stews.

This urge to do good expressed itself in the desire to rescue the slave, not only from his temporal condition, but from his heathenism. The propagation of the gospel was the prime incentive behind the evangelical interest in the Abolition of the Slave Trade (1807), the Amelioration Acts (1823) and Emancipation (1833). Wilberforce frankly confessed that missionary work was his main purpose in pressing for Abolition, and the conversion of millions of souls to be his greatest cause.[11] Herein lay the greatest quantifiable potential glory for God — whole continents of those who had never heard His Name. This was such a magnificent "good work" of such breath-taking enormity that from it were spawned four major missionary societies with British origins — The Baptist Missionary Society (1792), the London Missionary Society (1795), the Church Missionary Society (1799), and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (1815),[12] all of which sent missionaries to the slave populations of the West Indian Islands.

The Church In The West Indies

The evangelical revivals of eighteenth century England were in part a response to the disarray of the Established Church and its neglect of its pastoral duties; similarly the evangelization of the West Indies was seen as the answer to the disarray of the Established Church in the West Indies. For if the Established Church was in disfavour at home it was no less so in the West Indies. When the Church Missionary Society representative, Mr. Dawes, wrote about the clergy in Antigua his views were not uncommon in regarding the clergy as notoriously prolifigate and "exceedingly corrupt."[13] They consisted, he wrote of "fornicators and adulterers"[14] full of "rascality and innebriation,"[15] and invariably religiously "luke-warm."[16] They were generally deficient in their responsibilities toward the religious instruction of the slaves.[17] He was saying no more than the historian Edward Long, who in 1774 had observed,

> Some laborers of the Lord's vineyards have at times been sent who were much better qualified to be retailers of salt-fish or boatswains to privateers than Ministers of the Gospel. 18

The widely held view that the clergy were to say the least worldly was noted by Mr. Dawes who reported a conversation which he overheard between Archdeacon Parry and a third party concerning the supervision of Female Refuge Societies. Although the conversation was possibly a fabrication it nevertheless typifies the general opinion. The friend said to the Archdeacon that "the men in this part of the world were too licentious to have anything to do with female religious societies; that it would be like setting a fox to guard a flock of geese," to which the reverend gentleman said, "What, clergymen too?"[19] His friend did not desist!

One historian observed that too many of the official clergy were noted neither for their zeal nor their piety and consisted more often of "a few unsuccessful planters, merchants, and ex-military officers who sought holy orders in England and came back to enjoy emoluments of island rectories."[20] Their identifications were with the planting class and because of this they turned a blind eye on the prevalence of concubinage among slaves and whites, or the absence of marriage between slaves. To the evangelicals at home and the missionaries in the islands such failings were intolerable. When the Bishop of Barbadoes deemed marriage and its consequent rigors of European morality as "too soon" for slaves, the missionaries there found this quite inexcusable.[21]

Anne Gilbert, an Antiguan Methodist, wrote a letter to this effect to the wife of a Church clergyman. She was reasonable about the "exigencies of slave societies," recognizing that to insist upon marriage among slaves was perhaps inappropriate given the problems that might arise in such marriages. For example, slave marriages were generally not recognized and neither were they protected by law. The prevention of separation of the spouses or protection against the break-up of slave families were not written into the Slave Codes. Because of these problems she did not want slave women "forced or terrified into chastity (by religion) particularly if they had families." Nevertheless, she could not approve of the official clergy's tolerance of these "inconsistencies." Such clergy were apt not to offend "the pride and prejudices of men, though the best interests of mankind cannot be promoted unless such offence be given." The official clergy, who purported to "christianize the lower orders," must she believed take a firm stand on the matter of slave marriages and she concluded, in the odor of sanctity, "If we cannot prevent evil, let us lay upon its wings and retard its progress."[22] John Wray, a LMS missionary who also wrote about the clergy's reluctance to insist on slave marriage, at one time wryly commented about these pastors that "such men do very well in the ballroom or at the card table but are not at all qualified for the conversion of the heathen."[23]

The perceptions of missionaries and evangelicals cannot always be relied upon as evidence of the manners or morals of the official clergy, a class which they often despised, but criticism of the work of the Church in the West Indies is substantiated by historians who agree about irregular conduct including absenteeism, exorbitant fees, lethargy, appointments as rewards, and churches often not opened on Sundays.[24] Although Thomas Coke, the father of Methodist Missions, agreed that "all have sinned and come short of the glory of God," he nevertheless was appalled at the "base professors of Christianity" in the West Indies commenting that the Governor of Jamaica was in fact "the supreme head of the Church" in that island.[25]

The clergy's reluctance to provide religious instruction to slaves is further evidenced by the insistent demands for such instruction in the 1820s when programs of Melioration were enacted by the

British Parliament, much to the chagrin of the Colonial legislatures and the West Indian lobby.[26] These programs were introduced to counteract some of the abuses perpetrated on the slave population. It was during this period that the missionary spirit within the Church of England was forced to energize itself. The Incorporated Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negro Slaves in the British West India Islands which had been established in 1794 was stirred at last into conspicuous action. The Society had been established at the request of Bishop Beilby Porteus, an evangelical sympathizer, who had demonstrated his concern for the religious instruction of slaves and was well aware of the impediments placed upon it if the regular clergy was to be depended upon.[27] Even then, of ten candidates ordained for the Incorporated Society all except one belonged to various governments of the Leeward Islands.[28] This Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts which operated the Codrington Estates in Barbadoes appeared to have been the only interest the official Church had in the religious instruction of the slave population. One might add that if the instruction of the Codrington slaves typified the situation, such neglect may well have not been such a bad thing![29]

However, before final judgment can be passed on the ineptitude of the Church at this time, its peculiar circumstances before Episcopal re-organization in 1824 must be considered. Before this time, the Clergy alone represented the Church of England in the West Indies: the islands had none of the usual ecclesiastical features of deaneries, cathedral chapters, deacons, bishops, layreaders, catechists or Sunday School Teachers.[30] The Church was fragmented and disorganized, with parishes without churches, parishes without clergy, and those parishes with clergy and churches poorly frequented. The buildings were decrepit, airless, and small. In many ways the disarray reflected the state of the Church in England before the evangelical revivals particularly in relation to pluralism of benefices and clerical absenteeism. If baptism, marriage, and religious instruction were in fact neglected, this was due as much to objective conditions as to apathy.

James Stephen, the evangelical abolitionist and documenter of evidences pertaining to the slave trade, was certainly not overly sympathetic to the clergy. However in his work, Slavery of the British West India Colonies, he examined the lack of physical accommodations, scarcity of clergymen, geographical and climatic difficulties, as well as the numerical demands of the slave population in the various islands.[31] It is salutary at this point to keep in mind the population ratios between whites, free coloureds and slaves, not only to understand the seemingly insurmountable problems relating to the clergy ministering to the total population but also to understand the psychological necessity for the tyranny of masters over slaves.

The following table illustrates the problem.

1829 Census Returns[32]

	Antigua	Jamaica	Berbice	British Guiana Demerara and Essequibo
Whites	1,980	*	552	3,006
Free Coloureds	3,895	*	1,151	6,360
Slaves	29,839	322,421	21,319	69,467
Total	35,714	*	23,022	78,833

*Jamaica submitted no returns. The slave figure was compiled from a Registry of Slaves.

Keeping such figures in mind, some of Stephens' observations can be appreciated. For example, in Demerara and Essequibo there was but one church and one clergyman for 77,376 slaves in an area forty miles wide.[33] Berbice was not much better off consisting of 25,959 slaves and one Dutch Clergyman.[34] Jamaica had twenty-one parishes and one rector to each parish. After the Curates Act of 1816 rectors and curates totalled 42 clergymen, unequally dispersed, on an island some one hundred and fifty by forty miles which meant approximately one to every district of 143 square miles. Jamaica's slave population according to 1812 government returns was 320,000 which would leave 9,500 slaves for each Clergyman and 19,000 slaves for each parish.[35]

Several recurring problems can be identified in extracts from the official returns to Governors from beneficed clergymen submitted in April, 1817. Reverend William Chaderton of St. Paul's parish, Antigua, stated that his church could accommodate only thirty, yet he was required to attend 3,718 slaves.[36] He acknowledged the unintelligibility of the Anglican liturgy[37] to the average slave and recommended a "distinct and separate establishment of ministers" educated "for the sole and exclusive purpose of instructing the negroes."[38] Reverend T. P. Williams, Rector of Clarendon Parish, Jamaica, demurred that he could not obtain the consent of more than two proprietors to instruct some 18,000 souls and Reverend John West of St. Thomas-in-the-East purported that some 36,000 slaves derived little benefit from religious instruction because of their ignorance of English.[39] Many extracts referred to the mountainous terrain, especially of Jamaica, the unhealthy climates, the lack of accessible paths and roads, the rainy season and the great distances to travel under the hot sun. Nevertheless despite the number of excusing factors it cannot be said that the Clergy demonstrated either inclination or action in the religious instruction of the slaves.

One resident of thirty-six years in Antigua had observed as early as 1790 that "As to the regular clergy, I never knew any particular attention they paid to the slaves."[40] Apparently the matter had not changed by 1824 when Bishoprics were set up to rectify the matter. However, the new bishops could not immediately alter the state of the Church in the West Indies, nor radically transform religious instruction. If some hoped for such success they were to be doomed to disappointment, for the new Bishoprics received a generally negative reception.

The Bishoprics : 1824

Before 1824 the West Indies had come under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. When two new dioceses were established, those of Jamaica and Barbadoes, the public at home and many parliamentarians hoped that these would make possible a re-organization of West Indian parishes, closer supervision of the local clergy, and a tighter control over the religious instruction of slaves. An ecclesiastical body of men directly responsible to their own bishops might also serve to remind the planters of their moral responsibilities to their slaves. Since the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and the Slave Registry Bill,[41] the planters' reaction to meliorating measures had become increasingly hostile. Once gradual emancipation was announced in the Amelioration resolution of May 15, 1823, their cooperation could no longer be guaranteed. The Bishops then were in a manner of speaking, to play the part of moral watchdogs.

The two bishops were not known to be evangelical sympathizers. They were both Oxford men. William Hart Coleridge was the co-Secretary for the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and had been an editor for the Christian Remembrancer. He was appointed to the Diocese of Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, while Christopher Lipscomb was appointed to the Diocese of Jamaica. The latter's powers were limited as the Colonial government did not give him the same powers as Bishops exercised in England, and he remained dependent upon the legislature for much of his colonial authority. Indeed, the Bishop of London continued to write to the legislature about the religious instruction of the slaves and not to the bishop. Lipscomb's record in this matter and in that of encouraging school building is not as pleasing as that of his Barbadan colleague but this was due to his concentration on raising the "moral standards" of the white population before embarking on those of the slaves![42] Continued general opposition to the bishops prevented any significant improvement in religious instruction until the changes which came with Emancipation in 1833 enabled an increase in educational endeavour by Church and Chapel.[43]

Opposition to the bishops seemed to come from all sides — planters, clergy, dissenters, and even the CMS missionaries, although their society clearly supported the new conditions.

The opposition was based on the particular responses of each of the four groups although it might be said they all had a common root. None of the groups wanted their influence to be diffused by the intrusion of the bishops. The opposition from the planters was not astonishing; they preferred a distant bishop to an immediate one with power of appointment over the island rectorships which formerly had been occupied by a clergyman not about to criticize the management of plantations.[44] The 1823 Act of Amelioration insisted upon a renewed dissemination of "the principles of the Church of England" among the slaves and to make this possible the re-organization of the parishes and church was required. Thus the new conditions made changes "imperative, although unfortunately so."[45] Eventually a churlish planting class agreed to support the changes, but only as an alternative to having their slaves instructed in the enthusiastic kind of religion they associated with the missionaries.[46]

Neither was the clergy overjoyed at the Bishoprics. One spokesman, of whom we shall hear much more, the Reverend George W. Bridges expressed their concern over episcopal control. He pointed out that the clergy had enjoyed relative autonomy from ecclesiastical control before 1824. He opposed the new Clergy Act of Jamaica, 1825, which increased the stipends of rectors but penalized absentee clergy and left their cures open. Bridges was a militant supporter of an independent Clergy and objected to the new "partial and arbitrary system of ecclesiastical government."[47] He wanted neither himself nor his fellow clerics to be closely supervised and to be accountable for their actions. From Bridges such views are especially ironical given his infamous and deserved reputation of being an ardent anti-abolitionist. The freedoms he defended for his own class were not deemed by him as appropriate for the class of bondsmen.

Dissenting missionaries were none too happy either with the bishoprics. Their traditional suspicion of the Established Church was deepened by their treatment in the colonies. They recognized that there would probably be an expedient alliance between government, planters, and bishops, whereby the Church might hasten to secure its own position among the slaves in the parishes. Even the Church Missionary Society, the evangelical wing of the Anglican Church, found itself increasingly alienated from the Church. The Bishops were hesitant to renew or give licences to their catechists believing them to be superfluous within the parochial system, and in addition, being "enthusiasts of warm temperament"[48] more akin to

Methodists and Dissenters. The method and tone of the CMS was more "a part of the system of the dissenters if not entirely of it."[49] In turn, the CMS missionaries were unhappy about some of the conditions of licence, particularly with regard to the fixing of catechists at particular parishes rather than giving them the freedom of movement appropriate to their missionary character.[50] There was thus persistent difficulty in obtaining licences under the Bishops, and ultimately, of course, the bishop had authority over all CMS clergy to silence them, move them, or to revoke their licences.[51]

An Antiguan Wesleyan missionary, Patrick Ffrench wrote on May 24, 1824,

> The coming out of Bishops and curates is not a subject of rejoicing. Some of our best and most influential methodists intend offering themselves as assistants. I hope they will not transfer the fruits of their labour from preacher to parson. 52

Ffrench was afraid that some of his Methodist colleagues who were still sympathetic towards the Church, or had not broken all connections with the Anglican communion, or who attended chapel and ministered as Wesleyan missionaries because of lack of Anglican facilities, would offer their sympathies and services to what he considered an enemy. The Bishops might not only tempt some such missionaries by the promise of respectability within Mother Church but also tempt them with "livings" and higher salaries. The antagonisms between church and chapel was nowhere stronger than in Antigua where the Methodists were so influential. The Quarterly Report of the Methodist Missionary Society, June, 1825,[53] anticipated "material interference" from Archdeacon Parry and in August of the same year the Bishop refused to see a Methodist delegation and was "cool" to Mr. Jones, a missionary.[54] By September of the same year yet another missionary was reporting that he had been "warmly opposed" by the Bishop.[55]

In Jamaica, Baptist, William Knibb, observed that "the worthy bishop has brought out a number of race horses as part of his spiritual household, and I think they will have more of his care than the poor negroes."[56] Had the Baptists known of certain correspondence between Bishop Lipscomb and Lord Bathurst they would have been further outraged. Bathurst rejected the Bishop's request that he be permitted to reside forty miles from Kingston on an estate of some four to five hundred acres. He also protested his request to own slaves as it would be "highly objectionable for one of his sacred character."[57]

The most important reason for missionary bitterness toward the bishoprics was based on the fear of losing their own influence, of losing converts to the official religion, and of being prevented from consolidating their existing positions. The losing of potential converts was a most serious matter because missionaries were there to preach their particular brand of "real" Christianity as distinct from the nominal kind associated with the Establishment. In the eyes of the missionaries the Church emphasized nominal belief as distinct from conversion preceding baptism. For example, curates received a fee for the number of baptisms they performed but no fee for the numbers of slaves they instructed. Under such a pecuniary differential it was not uncommon to baptize the many and instruct the few.[58] Missionaries insisted that instruction must precede baptism and that man must take an active role in his own salvation. Conversion was preferred to the nominal Church baptisms the Bishop was seen to encourage. On the matter then of nominal and "real" Christianity the official church disagreed with their own enthusiasts and with dissenting evangelicals. To understand the urge to evangelization it is important also to understand the doctrinal differences between the Bishops and the missionaries.

The disarray of the Church at home and in the West Indies led in many ways to enthusiasm in both parts of the world. Indeed revivalism and enthusiasm was a trans-atlantic phenonemon.[59] Thus, Sarah Moore and Elizabeth Hunt, two Antiguan converts to vital religion at the turn of the century behaved in no way differently to their counterparts in England.[60] The belief that Satan would "appear" to them in a "dreadful form" and that the Holy Spirit could provide them with "revelations" and urge them into active evangelism was as much based on theological premises as on psychological ones. The theological premise was the result of a discernible shift from the Calvinist tenets of Protestantism to Arminian tenets. It was from this Arminian breakthrough that religious enthusiasm and missionary activity can best be understood. All men could now be saved which meant the poor heathen could also be converted.

The Arminian Breakthrough

The new attitude toward theology stressed personal salvation more and the Calvinist tenets of election and predestination less.

John Wesley had carefully elaborated this scheme of sanctification in his beliefs on Perfection and Assurance,[62] and in effect opened the floodgates to the evangelical revivals of the eighteenth century.[63] The Church generally disdained the new theology and the Methodists who particularly embraced it.[64]

Arminianism insisted that all Christians could seek holiness through good works, and if justified by faith, could attain salvation through Christ's purchase of sinners. This was a move to ideas of "contract" rather than "irrestible grace."[65] Such a move led into a further stress on a Christian's accountability to God, his stewardship over the gifts given him by God, and finally the trusteeship Christian nations ought to exert over non-Christian territories. As has been pointed out these ideas were suitably appropriate to a society bursting its mercantilist seams and missionary work could help justify subsequent imperial expansion under a theological guise and sense of "world mission."[66]

The Calvinist tenets, which had largely prevailed in post-Reformation English Christianity, stressed "irrestible grace." The associated doctrine of the Elect had paralyzed the urge to evangelization and aggressive missionary activity. As Wesley observed Calvinistic doctrine selected some to be saved from the beginning of time and others to be damned, "but if this be so then is all preaching vain."[67] It was over the matter of election that much theological wrangling occurred between those Methodists who supported the Calvinistic George Whitfield and Selina, the Countess of Huntingdon, and those who supported Wesleyan accounts of salvation.[68] In practice, however, Calvinistic Methodists were fervently "evangelical," in that they preached as though they were Arminian.

In relation to this last point an interesting contrast has been drawn between English Calvinism and New World Puritanism, so ably documented by Edmund Morgan in Visible Saints (1965), and The Puritan Family (1966).[69] Morgan argues that the collapse of puritanism in New England was primarily due to their turning in on themselves in a kind of "tribalism" wherein the "Saints" converted their children and grandchildren but were generally unconcerned about those other than the family or denominational group. The puritan insistence upon "election" then paralyzed them by drawing them in upon themselves and this led them to formulate the "half-way covenant" which made their direct descendents share in election without the usual spiritual conversion.[70] Both the puritans, and the evangelicals of England held to ideas of the covenant between God and man and believed it to be their duty to extend it by instructing their descendents in it. However the New Englanders did not extend it to all who would hear and be faithful; rather they preached it to their own group alone and this led to the eventual decline of their group.

The Calvinists of the English sects were to cope with the problem of election differently. Like Wesley and Whitfield they were "peculiarly uncomfortable" with a doctrine that insisted "that thousands and millions of men, without any preceding offence or fault of theirs, were unchangeably doomed to everlasting burnings."[71] Realizing that the consequences of such a doctrine tended to "destroy zeal for good works,"[72] and they argued that none could know they were among the elect unless they were taken from their ignorance by hearing the Gospel. The Calvinist evangelicals therefore preached so that the elect might understand their situation, while the Arminian evangelicals preached that all who heard and were "born again in Christ" might be saved.[73]

The new theology insisted that conversion was an imperative for everlasting life whether it be dramatically experienced or whether like Wesley's, it was merely a strange warming of the heart.[74] Arminianism rejected traditional doctrines of election and thoroughly resisted the Established Church's tendency to believe baptism without conversion was equivalent to salvation. William Wilberforce's A Practical View (1797) made all of this abundantly clear.[75] "Looking unto Jesus" and making Him the very center of one's life and compulsion of one's conduct was the result of conversion.[76] Further, the Arminian doctrines rejected nominal Christian beliefs that the moral life was a sufficient condition of salvation. Morality was a consequence of salvation; if one had saving grace one therefore acted morally to serve God. The nominal Christian must come to understand that he must have more than morality to be saved. He must realise that though he were to go through all the outward forms of a non-existent inward grace, though he were to be both a sabbatarian or a communicant this was not enough without conversion. Devotional exercises alone could not distinguish a serious from a nominal Christian; neither could abundant philanthropy gain the moral man the Kingdom.[77]

Conversion was the admittance of passions into the heart and not a matter of rational religion which the official clergy, and particularly bishops, seemed to cherish. Wesley and Wilberforce agreed on this point. Wesley required a passionate commitment to religion.

> I say of the heart. For neither does religion consist of orthodoxy or right opinions: . . . A man may be orthodox in every point he may not only espouse right opinions, but zealously defend them against all opposers; he may think justly concerning the incarnation of our Lord, concerning the ever blessed Trinity . . . He may be almost as orthodox, — as the devil . . . and may, all the while, be as great a stranger as he to the religion of the heart. This alone is religion, truly so called 79

Although Wesley had persisted in criticizing nominal Christianity, not surprisingly his views were not well received in the Church of England. They probably agreed with Sydney Smith who ironically commented in the Edinburgh Review,

> Whoever wishes to rescue religion from the hands of didactic artisans, — whoever prefers a respectable clergyman for his teacher, to a delirious mechanic; whoever wishes to keep the intervals between churches and lunatic asylums as wide as possible . . . are nothing better than open or concealed enemies of Christianity. 80

It took a friend of the Prime Minister to make the Arminian beliefs of Christianity respectable, and this was none other than that eminently reputable leader of the Clapham Sect and member of the House of Commons, William Wilberforce. His Practical View fused all the enthusiasm of the Methodists, Calvinistic evangelicals, and the Church evangelicals into an accord which was supportive of social order at home and critical of indifference in the Established Church. When it compared "the prevailing religious system" with "real Christianity," it was intended as much for the "professed

Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes,"[81] as for the lower orders.

By making a personal and affectionate commitment to Jesus, and Him Crucified, Wilberforce urged a commitment to witness for the greater glory of God. Good works were a splendid way to do this and were deemed necessary to demonstrate one's change of heart. It was only through such behaviour and such witnessing that others could see a conversion had indeed taken place. Wilberforce, therefore stressed the practicality of engaging in good works, regularly, frequently, generously, and often quite ostentatiously.[82] Although good works alone could not gain the Kingdom, it was conceded that neither could they hamper it. John Venn, the pastor of the Clapham Sect, described this in his ideas of "accountability" to God for the gift of grace where each Christian was to give "an audit to the bar of God."[83] Wilberforce's emphasis on the importance of good works clearly placed him as an Arminian although throughout his work his tendency toward the doctrine of human depravity indicates that his spiritual vacillation between Calvinism and Arminianism was not yet resolved.[84]

Since Wilberforce's views were held in esteem in the evangelical community with its focus on "good works" it is useful to consider these views. He argued that good works were "the cardinal point on which the whole of [vital] Christianity turns." Good works were also the cardinal point in the urge to evangelization. Wilberforce argued in Practical View that

> . . . the nature of that holiness, which the true Christian seeks to possess, is no other than the restoration of the

> image of God to his soul: and, as to the manner of acquiring it, disclaiming with indignation every idea of attaining it by his own strength, he rests altogether on the operation of God's Holy Spirit, which is promised to all who cordially embrace the Gospel. He knows therefore that this holiness is not to PRECEDE his reconciliation with God, and be its CAUSE; but to FOLLOW it, and be its EFFECT. 85

He follows this by stressing justification by faith. However the whole tenor of his work is to motivate true and vital Christians into good works. He saw philanthrophy and political action as essentially religious action, as bright examples of the saved life, setting "forward benevolent and useful schemes."[86]

The Arminian breakthrough did not radically replace Calvinist theology overnight. Though the implications of this shift in theology were eventually far reaching and reflected the changing view of human nature illustrated in the writings of Locke and Rousseau, the breakthrough was as gradual as it was subtle. Vestiges of Calvinism often lingered and the situation was not uncommon where enthusiasts proposed an ardent Arminianism yet aligned themselves essentially to Calvinism. It was not until the first decades of the nineteenth century that Arminianism seemingly triumphed. For example, the ex-slave trader, John Newton, acknowledged himself to be a "speckled bird" among Calvinists and a "mighty good Churchman", although he admitted that Churchmen saw him as a dissenter. On the other hand the dissenters thought him "defective" and the "middle party and the methodists, did not consider his dimensions as an exact fit with them."[87] In his own words,

> Though a man does not accord with my views of election, yet if he gives me good evidence that he is effectively called of God, he is my brother: though he seems afraid

> of the doctrines of final perseverence, he is my brother still. 88

Arminian theological beliefs which were more suited to the missionary impluse and were reflected in a letter from a Baptist missionary, William Knibb, on his voyage to Jamica in 1823.[89] Knibb had been influenced by Dr. Andrew Fuller's Arminian sympathies in The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation (1781)[90]but was at the beginning of his mission not altogether convinced. Nevertheless, despite his reluctance he preached as an Arminian and converted hundreds of negroes in his two decades of missionary work. In the 1823 letter he spoke of sinners coming to God and rejected the idea that some "could not." He insisted that "would not" was more to the point, as there are two sorts of "cannots" — "natural, and moral." He further insisted that all have to answer for none but our own sins thus calling to question many of the notions intrinsic to Calvinist ideas of Original Sin and innate human depravity.[91]

A further illustration of Arminian leanings is found in the opinions of William Carey, who later became a missionary to Serampore, India, and in fact was a prime mover in the founding of the Baptist Missionary Society. He referred to a fellow missionary, John Thomas, as a "Calvinist" but not the kind who "approved of that species of Calvinism as it is generally called, that forbids addresses to unconverted sinners."[92] Another illustration of the dimensions of theological argumentation on the matter of Calvinism and Arminianism occurred on the first voyage in 1796 to the South Seas of the ship the "Duff" which carried London Missionary Society missionaries. Although they were prepared to practise Arminian beliefs in deed, the majority of missionaries on board rejected them in theory, and those who were "Calvinists" actually ex-communicated two fellow missionaries after a bitter interrogation during which these two unfortunates apparently exposed their Arminian principles![93]

The theological differences between Arminian and Calvinistic principles had been manifested time again since the Reformation in the creations of chapels, sects, and schisms. But the loss of ground of predestinarianism to Arminian beliefs in salvation to all who would believe is central in the urge to evangelization. It was in fact a sufficient condition to cause a breakthrough of the missionary spirit. If the old doctrines of Election and Final Perseverance were not modified then preaching to outsiders was indeed as Wesley had observed, "vain." Calvinism implied that human improveability was not possible whereas Arminianism implied a belief in human improveability and associated ideas of progress and free will, both of which proved to be crucial to nineteenth century thought and practice.[94] The one was a cry of despair and injustice, the other a message of hope and mercy which freed men to engage in good works and urged them to evangelize not only England, but more ambitiously, the whole world![95]

The Image of the Slave

The Arminian breakthrough is also reflected in a further factor behind the urge to evangelization, that is, the image of the slave, who became an object of sentimental humanitarianism worthy of compassion, salvation and emancipation. One can see the theological implications in Thomas Clarkson's view that "it was impious to think a man be born a slave" because every man was born "a free agent and an accountable creature."[96] Just as Arminianism rejected the old doctrines of election it also rejected ideas of a naturally "slavish" personality.[97] All men had been redeemed by the same blood and all men could accept in an act of conversion the same Saviour; slave or freeman, pauper or prince.

On this theological premise then evangelicals and missionaries were not in agreement with many of the general prevailing ideas about the nature of negroes and slaves.

A significant element of the British public, greatly influenced by Sentimental thought, considered the poor negro and the unhappy slave as yet another touchstone of sensibility, of equal importance to the chimney sweep, gentlewomen in distress, children, the orphan, and certainly more poignant than the miner, the labourer, or the factory worker. Romantic sentimentalism depicted slaves as "Afric's sons" cruelly wrenched from families and homeland and corrupted by white influences on the plantations. The theme of "the Noble Savage" contributed to an ethos of sensibility which was juxtaposed with Enlightenment thought and unspoiled caricatures of humanity.[98] The interest in the nature of the slave contributed to the anti-saccharine campaigns before the Abolition Act of 1807.[99]

Despite the fact that some evangelicals in Britain, notably the poet, William Cowper, became involved in the cult of sensibility which romanticizes the nature of the slave, the missionaries, themselves in the colonies refused to so sentimentalize him. Moreover because they realized that the slave was neither as noble as some would depict him, nor as brutish as others would make him, they were usually unaffected by many of the cruder arguments for slavery based on economic grounds. The missionaries refused to sentimentalize their charges and agreed with William Stearn that they were "men subject to like passions with ourselves."[100] He warned against "oversympathetic attitudes." Another missionary cautioned against the idealizing of the natural state of man, — "O how ignorant and stupid man is in his natural state, below the beasts of the field."[101] It was precisely this "natural" state that man needed to be saved from and it was to this natural state that men returned when they backslid. Slaves caused "trouble and discouragement" because they were not innocent children of Adam, and if "a genuine work of grace" did not take place they soon relapsed into "those sins which habit and custom have rendered to them meat and drink, particularly quarrelling and unchastity."[102] This essentially realistic attitude is evidenced among the Methodists in Antigua who were accused of "paltry prejudices" toward a native preacher, Brother Hodge. W. Gilgrass, a missionary, was anxious lest there be too much prejudice "in the opposite direction" and he insisted that the mission could be injured by "over-partiality to persons of colour."[103] This recognition of "inverse racism" and this refusal to sentimentalize slaves and negroes were necessary if the missionary was to see him as a human being and not merely some object of sentiment or a romantic character in unrealistic but pretty prose. Thus, the missionaries saw the slave in a humanness the white population usually denied him.

The majority of whites, including some evangelicals, did not deny the legality of the slave being chattel property, although many questioned the morality of such a concept. It was by no means obvious that no group of men ought to enslave another group of men who also happened to be of another race and another colour. Such views were not only the property of uninformed men, but of many of Europe's ablest minds. Johnson and Boswell agreed to disagree on the subject, as did Carlisle and J. S. Mill.[104] Although slavery was repugnant to Locke's social contract,[105] there is no evidence he found slavery itself objectionable and Hobbes' views on servitude seemed to condone the use of coercion by masters over servants and slaves.[106] Adam Smith saw slavery as uneconomical whereas the West Indian nabobs obviously argued otherwise.[107] Hume and Montesquieu argued that slavery was part of the hierarchial order of things and a link to the chain of civil life which clearly legitimized the relationship of master to slave.[108] Some pamphleteers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries argued among other things that negroes were advantaged by becoming slaves of white masters having been previously immersed in barbarism and quite likely to be taken as a slave in the more ferocious African forms of slavery. Others gave climatic arguments for the necessary use of black slave labour in the tropics.[109] The final absurdity was reached in arguments about "happy slaves."[110]

True and vital Christians remained as unimpressed by most of these arguments as they were about the romantic ideas on slave nature. They had their own traditions of thought upon the matter of both the immorality of slavery as an institution as distinct from its legality. They saw the slave as a man with an immortal soul and not only as chattel property. They drew heavily upon the works of Quakers such as George Fox,[111] the Churchman Morgan Godwyn,[112] the Methodist John Wesley,[113] and the Baptist Abraham Booth,[114] who all appealed to mercy and charity and made it necessary for Christians to re-examine their assumptions.

The disagreements between the advocates of the slave as property and the slave as fully human are fundamental. To one, the slave was a commodity; his time, labour, production and reproduction were subject to another's will. He was governed by all the laws of chattel property. He could be bought, borrowed, stolen, bartered, bequeathed, leased, mortgaged, presented as a gift, pledged for a debt, included in a dowry, and seized in a bankruptcy.[115] He could not construe any contractual agreements such as the right to marry, to own property, or often to buy his freedom.[116] Moreover "it shall always be presumed that every negro is a slave, unless the contrary can be made to appear."[117] This lamentable principle was as applicable to the West India possessions as it was to Carolina.

On the other hand, evangelicals acted upon the belief that slaves were men "with immortal souls" like themselves "notwithstanding their dusky complexions."[118] Because of this, they became more vocal against slavery as an institution and in the West Indies all missionaries, apart from the Moravians, did not customarily own slaves. Evangelicals agreed that if slavery and Christianity did co-exist it was a national disgrace which had to be ended.[119]

In Antigua, as late as 1808 some Methodists were disciplined for involvement in the "commerce of men." The Wesleyan Conference had stated that such a practice was both "impolitic" and "injurious to the cause of evangelical religion."[120] The preachers involved disclaimed their part in ownership and insisted they had obtained slaves by marrying West Indian women and they could not part with their wives' property. Mr. Turner, pleading his cause in correspondence with Thomas Coke, argued that it was impossible to continue preaching if he must liberate his slaves, that he would not attract respectable white converts if he insisted upon emancipation. For that matter, must he expel his congregation if they refused to liberate?[121] After 1807-8 the Conference had concluded the matter by determining that none of their preachers employed in the West Indies "shall be at liberty to marry any person who will not previously emancipate." It further determined that not only would any slaves of these circumstances be liberated but any slaves obtained under any other circumstances were to be freed too.[122]

Not only did Evangelicals and missionaries disagree with prevailing ideas of the slave as chattel property their general attitude towards matters of race set them apart from their contemporaries. With great sophistry the popular pseudo-scientific notions of the day "evidenced" that negroes were a separate creation, that is, not of the same genus as whites. The theological disputes over the same question usually surrounded the Old Testament stories of the degraded descendents of Ham, Cush, and Put.[123] Other theories described gradations of man with the negro just above the "ape" and way below any white man.[124] John Davies of the LMS in British Guiana reputed that many whites did not recognize the negroes as having souls, and that although the mulattoes had souls they did not have minds as whites had.[125]

Richard Watson, Secretary of the WMMS censured those who made such assertions because they had "struck millions out of the family of God" by doubting that negroes had any "claim to humanity."[126] As long as such assumptions persisted, he observed, so too would justifications for slavery. To identify a visible group of men as "slavish" was to rationalize another group's claim to a never ending supply of inferiors to enslave. The arguments used by many evangelicals and others who wanted to dignify negroes as men were as simplistic as they were necessary. It was pointed out that negroes and slaves had reason, voice, language, and that they could reproduce,all of which showed they were neither hybrids nor monsters. Their different complexions were caused by extremes of climate and matters of "the joint operation of sun, climate, soil, diet" which over several thousands of years caused this "universal freckle!"[127]

The evangelicals did not disagree absolutely and in all areas with the prevailing ideas on the nature of slaves and negroes. Being men of their time they could not but help imbue some of the attitudes of their time. In three areas there are signs of ambivalence and/or agreement with the majority views.

To begin with, evangelicals and missionaries conceded that slaves were debased and seemingly inferior; they argued however that this was due to their circumstances and not their nature. For instance, William Wilberforce said that bodily distinctions could "produce impressions not merely of contempt, but even of disgust and aversion" but he hastened to add that slavery "exaggerates these."[128] Slavery brutalized men and made them different from civilized men. Their differences expressed themselves predominantly in immorality and crime but once again these were the effect of slavery rather than natural dispositions in the slaves themselves. Thus they could be cured by Christianity.

Although missionaries hesitated to condemn the differences they perceived between themselves and negroes in the strong language of Rev. George Wilson Bridges of St. Anne's parish, Jamaica, they tended to accept more moderate observations on negro nature. Bridges asserted that slaves had "imperfect faculties" and their desires were "insatiate." Their universal and refined malice, slyness, sensuality and rapine amounted to "human nature in its most disgusting form."[129] Rather, the missionary viewpoint was more accurately reflected in the ideas of two Christian and cultivated gentlefolk, Mrs. Carmichael and Henry Nelson Coleridge. Coleridge wrote of the slaves.

> Every passion acts upon them with strange intensity; their anger is sudden and furious; their mirth clamouress and excessive; their curiousity audacious, and their love, the sheer demand for gratification of an ardent animal desire.[130]

Mrs. Carmichael, pious gentlewoman that she was, was positively obsessed with "their love" and her book is replete with descriptions of imagined slave sexuality.[131] It was in no small part due to the belief in their "untractable passions" that the feeling was strong that slaves must be Christianized. Missionary correspondence thus concentrates on this aspect of morality to an exhorbitant degree.

Negroes and slaves it was recognized were different to white men and this was attributed partly to natural dispositions due to racial characteristics, partly to the ignorance they were kept in "as a matter of course,"[132] and to their treatment as slaves. In 1817 the Secretary of the Methodist Missionary Society described the negroes as intemperate, lazy, superstitious, promiscuous, shameless, debased and vicious.

> Such is the only true picture of the uninstructed negroes but . . . all their immoralities have proved vincible by the power of true Christianity [and] it is ignorance which renders instruction necessary, and vice which calls for the hallowing influences of the Christian system. 133

Evangelicals viewed negro nature as fully human and worthy of salvation. But to say a negro is a human is not the same as to say he is as good as an Englishman! Thus John Wray, a missionary in British Guiana, expressed anxiety at the bad influence of looseness of morals his little girls were in contact with by familiar intercourse with slaves and slave children.[134] This prevailing idea that negro nature was not equal to white nature affected missionary attitudes and behaviours towards even the converted slave.[135] Nevertheless, missionaries tended to differ radically from the society at large with regard to questions of social and intellectual equality. Contemporary liberals today might consider many of the statements and activities of missionaries as morally reprehensible and racially insidious, but if one concedes that something even as distasteful as racism is often a matter of degree, then one must also concede the missionaries, for want of a more historical term, were "ahead of their time."

The final point of missionary agreement with prevailing ideas on the nature of the slave was their view that negroes must be civilized and christianized. Missionaries and evangelicals agreed with the principle of civilization and christianization but insisted it ought to occur by making slaves into "serious" Christians, not merely nominal ones.[136] This prevailing idea as to how the nature of the slave was to be improved, by civilizing and christianizing, is also the final factor behind the urge to Evangelization.[137]

Civilizing and Christianizing the Slave

The fusion of civilizing with christianizing was frequently stressed by preachers, writers, and missionaries. The Rev. William Harris of Cambridge preached a sermon before the London Missionary Society in 1817 in which he discussed this fusion.

> The term is indeed sufficiently ambiguous, but if to civilize, means, to produce a state of regular subordination, of social comfort, and reciprocal usefulness, that system must best promote the work, which provides for the discharge of personal and relative duties. Christianity cannot be taught without imparting the grand regulations of social life; and it effectually, though incidentally, produces civilization, by reducing the heart to the operation of benevolent and holy principles. 138

James Stephen agreed, arguing that the slaves in the West India colonies did not become civilized merely by interaction with the white race but only through religious instruction.[139]

William Carey's call to missionary exertion, An Enquiry into Obligations of Christians (1792), connected Christianity to civilization in as incisive a way as Practical Christianity had connected good works and true religion. He agreed with Wilberforce that Christianity was politically important[140] by raising the public spirit of morality.[141] By civilizing people at home and abroad Britain would find herself "respected and beloved."[142] Christianity alone could exercise an "irresistible influence" over those who seemed "incapable of culture" for only Christianity brought with it the "inculcable blessings of civilization, morality, and piety."[143] Carey asked Christians whether they could hear that heathens were "without government, without laws, and without arts and sciences" and ignore their plight. The obligation of Christians was to spread the gospel as "the more effective means of their civilization."[144] Men of Carey's convictions could not comprehend any "civilization" that was not Christian. Neither could they comprehend that civilization would not inevitably follow in the wake of true Christianity.

The christianizing and civilizing of the slave was a necessary condition of preparation for his freedom. The Rev. John Hampden expressed the evangelical view that to "release a community of slaves from their bondage before you have substituted the restraint of religion" meant they might become "more licentious," and "more intractable than savages."[145] A missionary from Demerara in 1827 expressed the same viewpoint, arguing that a "religious education only can prepare the negroes for a state of freedom and the general diffusion of true Christianity and good laws encourage industry."[146] The main sentiment in the Acts of Amelioration of the 1820s was one of a policy of gradualism, so that religious instruction might make the slaves ready to take upon themselves the heavy burden of their civil and moral liberty.

For the evangelicals, civilizing the slave meant creating a loyal citizenry. This desire for social control through religion is clearly evident in William Wilberforce's Practical Christianity[147] as well as in the writings of two Church zealots, Hannah More[148] and Sarah Trimmer.[149] The upper and middle classes, by example, were to provide philanthropy and encourage the lower order to emulate their piety and morality. William Dawes, who introduced Church Missionary Society catechists into the plantation Sunday schools in Antigua commented that religion would control the "lower orders" there. In turn he insisted upon high moral standards from the "higher orders" for "in proportion as the higher orders fail" the inferior ranks in society "fall short" in perhaps "a greater degree."[150] John Armstrong of the CMS in British Guiana agreed that the example of a christianized white population was necessary because the negroes there had to be rescued as much from "white vices" as "African superstitions."[151] A pious, loyal and grateful citizenry was also a truly Christian one.

The matter of social control then is directly related to that of civilizing and christianizing. The evangelical revivals of the eighteenth century were directed primarily at the unruly masses of lower classes during the transition period of industrial growth and agricultural dispossession. Jacobinism was abroad along with rebellion and discontent and their effects were feared by the powerful political authorities and the Christians alike. The tenor of evangelical philosophy was to teach docility, gratitude for the blessings of Christianity and the benevolence of the middling and higher classes, as well as the virtues of industry, piety, sobriety, and frugality.

As with the lower orders of England, religious instruction for the slave was seen as the means by which they could be "raised to the privileges of men".[152] Such instruction was "peculiarly suited" to slaves because it so enlightened that from a savage this slave became "a tractable being; if in bondage, an attached servant."[153] Once christianized and civilized, slaves had the duty to be as "just and as honest" and as "chaste and virtuous, godly and religious" as their masters or mistresses.[154]

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the background to the urge to evangelization. Several factors have been identified as being of special significance. First the state of the church at home and abroad called for a powerful and enthusiastic reaction. Second, associated with this enthusiastic reaction was an important theological shift which provided the necessary impetus for the missionary spirit to manifest itself in good works and particularly in the establishment of numerous philanthropic societies, including missionary societies. Thirdly, the prevailing ideas on the nature of the negro and slave directed particular attention to missionary work among them. Finally there existed a widespread belief that civilizing and christianizing slaves were synonymous and the best way to prepare them for their freedom.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

[1] Although religious instruction was "much neglected" in England, James Stephen expressed a common belief of evangelicals that "the poorest child . . . can rarely be wholly destitute of private and individual teaching unless through the remediless neglect of his irreligious parents." Slavery of the British West India Colonies (London, 1824), p. 205.

[2] Pointed out in "The Instructions for the Members of the Unitas Fratrum Who Minister in the Gospel Among the Heathen" in Elsa V. Goveia, Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the End of the Eighteenth Century (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 275, and Oliver W. Furley, "Moravian Missionaries and Slaves in the West Indies", Caribbean Studies 5 (July 1965): 3-16.

[3] A. Caldecott, The Church in the West Indies (London: Frank Cass, 1970), p. 64.

[4] The following sources discuss the eighteenth century background to the methodistical revivals and the relationship of these to the Established Church.

G. R. Baleine, A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England (London: Longmans Green, 1909); Robert Southey, The Life of Wesley and the Rise and Progress of Methodism (London, 1889); A. Skevington Wood, The Burning Heart (Michigan: William B. Erdmans Publishing Co., 1967); Frank Baker, John Wesley and the Church of England (New York: Abingdon Press, 1970); John H. Overton and Frederic Relton, The English Church From the Accession of George I to the End of the Eighteenth Century 1714-1800 (London: MacMillan and Co., 1906); C. J. Abbey and J. H. Overton, The English Church in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1896); A. Tindal Hart, The Curate's Lot: The Story of the Unbeneficed English Clergy (London: John Baker, 1970); Elie Halevy, England in 1815, Volume 1 (London: Ernest Benn, 1961); and R. A. Knox, Enthusiasm - A Chapter in the History of Religion (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950).

[5] Abbey and Overton, pp. 226-277 and 279-312. Halevy, pp. 389-410. The Anti-Jacobin Review was typical of High Church and Tory reaction when it referred to the "fanatical exertions of these spurious philanthropists who are labouring to puritanise" and using the "whine and cant of the tabernacle." The Anti-Jacobin Review 50 (July 1816): 637 and 654. The Edinburgh Review was as sarcastic

when it asked, "Are we to respect the poor when they wish to step out of their province and become teachers of the land? When men whose proper talk is of bullocks pretend to have 'wisdom and understanding,' is it not lawful to tell them they have none? An iremonger is a very respectable man so long as he is merely an iremonger — an admirable man if he is a religious iremonger — but a great blockhead if he sets himself up for a bishop or dean, a lecturer on theology." Edinburgh Review (April 1808): 144.

[6] Albert M. Lyles, Methodism Mocked — The Satiric Reaction to Methodism in the Eighteenth Century (London: The Epworth Press, 1960), pp. 32-43.

[7] E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (Great Britain: Pelican Books, 1968), pp. 385-429.
John Wesley's diaries are replete with such descriptions. The Journal of John Wesley (London: Epworth Press, 1938).

[8] Edinburgh Review (April 1808): 144.

[9] In 1787 the Proclamation Society for the Suppression of Vice and Immorality was formed to implement the king's suggestions toward reforming society. It was reorganized in 1803. Halevy, p. 452.

[10] Ford K. Brown, Fathers of the Victorians, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1961), pp. 317-361.

[11] Robert and Samuel Wilberforce, The Life of William Wilberforce, 5 volumes (1838), 4: 126 and 115, and Ford K. Brown, p. 108.

[12] Details of their formation, their principles, and their memberships are found in Charles Henry Robinson, A History of Christian Missions (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1915).

[13] Dawes to Pratt, May 12, 1824, and November 15, 1825, CW/01-100, Book 1 (1814-27), pp. 341-343 and 467-472, CMSA.

[14] Dawes to Secretaries, July 12, 1827. He does not restrain his malice when he refers to two female catechists. "If either of the women is not, it seems to be only for want of someone to take her into keeping." Book 2, pp. 26-31, CMSA.

[15] Dawes to Secretaries, May 31, 1827, Book 2, pp. 18-24, CMSA.

[16] Dawes to Secretaries, September 20, 1824, Book 1, pp. 282-285, CMSA.

[17] Dawes to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, October, 1823, Book 1, pp. 267-274, CMSA.

[18] Edward Long, The History of Jamaica (London, 1774), Book 2, Chapter Ten, "The State of the Clergy."

[19] Dawes to Bickersteth, July 29, 1829, Book 2, pp. 432-433, CMSA.

[20] Caldecott, p. 58.

[21] Thomas R. Baxter, "Caribbean Bishops: The Establishment of Bishoprics of Jamaica and of Barbados and the Leeward Islands, 1824-1843." Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church 32 (1963): 201.

[22] Mrs. Anne Gilbert to Mrs. Luckock, August 24, 1824, Book 1, pp. 377-382, CMSA.

[23] Wray to Hankey, July 10, 1830, Box 2 Br. G/B (1829-1832), LMSA.

[24] W. J. Gardner, A History of Jamaica (London: Frank Cass and Co., 1971), pp. 330-331. Other historians who make similar observations include, Christopher Nicole, The West Indies (London: Hutchinson Ltd., 1965), pp. 190-191; J. H. Parry and P. M. Sherlock, A Short History of the West Indies (London: MacMillan & Co., 1963), pp. 152-184; Eric Williams, Capitalism and Slavery (London: Andre Deutsch, 1964), p. 42; Philip D. Curtin, Two Jamaicas: The Roe of Ideas in a Tropical Colony, 1830-1865 (New York: Atheneum, 1970), pp. 48-49, and John Pinnington, "The Anglican Struggle for Survival in Jamaica in the Period of Abolition and Emancipation 1825-50", Journal of Religious History 2 (December 1968): 125-148.

[25] Thomas Coke, A History of the West Indies, (Frank Cass and Co., 1971), pp. 23 and 404-406. Bishop Lipscomb of Jamaica concurred apparently for on his arrival in 1825 he thought the clergy "hard" and "unscrupulous." Baxter, p. 203. An official comment reiterates the general impression in "The State of the Clergy of all denominations, their Salaries and Emoluments in the Leeward Charibee Islands," CO. 152:68, PRO.

[26] The following books deal with this part of the campaign for Emancipation. James Stephen, *Slavery*, Frank J. Klingberg, *The Anti-Slavery Movement in England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926); Edith F. Hurwitz, *Politics and the Public Conscience* (London: Aldine Press, 1973); William Law Mathieson, *British Slavery and Its Abolition* 1823-38 (New York: Octagon Press, 1967); Jack Gratus, *The Great White Lie* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973). Articles include, Mary Reckord, "The Colonial Office and the Abolition of Slavery," *The Historical Journal* 14, (1971): 723-734 and C. Duncan Rice, "Humanity Sold for Sugar! The British Abolitionist Response to Free Trade in Slave-Grown Sugar," *The Historical Journal* 13, (1970): 402-418.

[27] Memorandum to Porteus, January 24, 1793, CO. 318:17, PRO. demonstrated also in *An Essay Toward the Plan for the More Effectual Civilization and Conversion of the Negroe Slaves of the Trust Estate in Barbados, Belonging to the S. P. G. F. P.* (London, 1789) and *Sermon Preached Before the Incorporated Society for the S. P. G. F. P. on Friday, February 21, 1783*. (London, 1783).

[28] "Answers to Queries from the Leeward Islands," *House of Commons Accounts and Papers* 26 (1789): 646 (a) Part 3.

[29] Sir Christopher Codrington gave this bequest complete with some 300 slaves to the SPG in 1710. All future slaves were branded with "SOCIETY" and by all accounts their treatment was no better than that of their unbranded and unbaptised brethren on other plantations. Williams, p. 42, and Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972), p. 324.

For the work of the SPG. see John Callam, *Parsons and Pedagogues* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971). The SPG ministered primarily to the white population. Its charter (1701) stated that it was to prove "a sufficient maintenance . . . for the Orthodox Clergy" to live among the King's subjects in his "Plantations, Colonies, and Factories" and to provide for the propogation of the Gospel in these foreign parts. H. P. Thompson, *Thomas Bray* (London: SPCK, 1954), pp. 72-81.

[30] Caldecott observed that "never did the laity more completely shift the burden of Christian duty on their pastors; and never were those pastors less able to bear it." P. 56. The dearth of clergymen was recognized in *Observations on the Necessity of Introducing a Number of Respectable Clergymen Into Our Colonies in the West Indies* (London, 1807). It stated when a living became vacant that a governor merely sent over some person, usually unsuitable, to be ordained in England.

[31] Stephen, pp. 200-267.

[32] These figures were compiled from "Returns Relative to Population — Colonies and Slaves," House of Commons Accounts and Papers 19 (1831): 172-173, and "Reports from Select Committee on the Extinction of Slavery Throughout the British Dominions," Reports and Committees (16) XX (1831-32), Appendix 4, p. 318.

Jamaican figures are based on tax rolls "which were invariably underestimated since masters with six slaves were liable for taxation." Orlando Patterson, The Sociology of Slavery (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1967), p. 96. Patterson estimates that in the eighteenth century there were over ten slaves to every white person and in the nineteenth century, over 13 slaves to every white in Jamaica. P. 274.

[33] In 1824 a law was passed in British Guiana giving State endowments to three established churches, and the parishes were divided between the Church of England, the Scottish Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed churches.

[34] Stephen, p. 212.

[35] Ibid., pp. 212-214.

[36] Ibid., pp. 216-217.

[37] Ibid., p. 217.

[38] Ibid., p. 217.

[39] Ibid., pp. 222-223.

[40] House of Commons Accounts and Papers 24 (1790), 698 (b), p. 355.

[41] James Stephen, Reasons for Establishing a Registry of Slaves in the British Colonies (London, 1815). The Registry was supposed to be a protective device for slaves by keeping a check on mortality and smuggling.

[42] Baxter, p. 205.

[43] The Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter, 30 June, 1826 attacked the continued lethargy of the re-organized church. Lipscomb died in January, 1843, and Coleridge resigned in 1842 due to ill-health.

[44] The British government agreed to finance the re-organization of the West Indian Church and sent the Bishops over under Order of Council in the Crown Colony of Trinidad without general colonial approval.

[45] Lord Kenyon, February 27, 1824, Items 204-6, Vol. XX, Fulham Papers (American), LPL.

[46] There was a general tendency to oppress dissenting ministers in the West Indies. Caldecott, p. 45.

[47] Rev. J. B. Ellis, The Diocese of Jamaica (London: S. P.C.K., 1913), pp. 57-66.

[48] W. A. Armstrong to Bishop of London, September 22, 1825, Vol. 104, Fulham Papers (London).

[49] Ibid.

[50] Memorial to the Committee of the CMS to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, November 29, 1833. P. 3.

[51] Ibid., p. 11. Also "Remarks on the Constitution and Practice of the CMS. With Reference to Its Ecclesiatical Relations," Proceedings of the CMS for Africa and the East, (1839). Pp. 135-139.

[52] Ffrench to Taylor, May 24, 1824, Item 26, West Indies (1824-25), WMMSA.

[53] Item 166, West Indies (1824-25), WMMSA.

[54] Jones to Mason, August, 1825, Item 177, West Indies (1824-25c), WMMSA.

[55] White to Secretary, September 3, 1825, Item 182, West Indies (1824-25c), WMMSA.

[56] Knibb to Phillips, March 26, 1825, W1/3, BMSA.

[57] Lord Bathurst to Bishop Lipscomb, Memo. 38, December 7, 1826, CO. 320:1, PRO.

[58] Stephen, Slavery, p. 226.

[59] For a discussion of the evangelical impulse in North America see Ford K. Brown, p. 396. The following are examples of the literature which discusses this.

Richard Hofstadter, Anti-Intellectualism in American Life, (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), chapters 3 and 4; C. C. Goen, Revivalism and Separatism in New England 1740-1800 (New Haven:

Yale University Press, 1962); Bernard A. Weisberger, They Gathered At The River (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1958); Robert T. Handy, A Christian America (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), chapter 1; Edwin Scott Gaustad, The Great Awakening in New England (Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1965).

[60] Letters from Elizabeth Hunt, May 5, 1804, and Sarah Moore, September 1803, describe their spectacular conversions to Reverend Richard Pattison. Items 29 and 31, West Indies (1803-13) WMMSA. Joseph Nightingale, Portraiture of Methodism (London, 1807) discusses "evident signs of inward agitation" which he thought to be rather too prevalent among females listening to enthusiastic preaching. P. 203.

[61] Bernard Semmel, The Methodist Revolution (New York: Basic Books, 1973); E. P. Thompson, pp. 28-40; and Halevy, pp. 436-438.

[62] John Wesley discusses Perfection and Assurance in The Works of John Wesley (5th edition, London: John Mason, 1860). See "Brief Thoughts on Christian Perfection," XI (1777); "A Plan Account of Christian Perfection as Believed and Taught by the Rev. Mr. J. Wesley", XI (1777); "A Circumcision of the Heart," V (1733); "The Question, What is an Arminian? Answered. By a Lover of Free Grace", X (1770); "Salvation by Faith," V (1738); and "Serious Thoughts Upon the Perseverance of the Saints," X (1751). The Particular Baptists also modified their predestinarian inclinations as is seen in Andrew Fuller, The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation (London, 1781). An excellent account of this modification is in A. C. Underwood, A History of the English Baptists (London: The Carey Kingsgate Press, 1956) and a contemporary account of the two approaches is found in James Nichols, Calvinism and Arminianism Compared (London, 1824).

[63] Herbert Welch, ed., Selections from the Writings of the Rev. John Wesley (New York: Abingdon Press, 1942), pp. 17-29. In the same volume see "The New Birth," pp. 46-60, and "A Plain Account of Genuine Christianity," pp. 312-327.

[64] J. L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond, The Town Labourer 1760-1832 (London: Longmans Green, 1920), argue that the history of the Church of England "is one of class" and had no room in it for a saved tinker or an enthusiastic cobbler. The following books all argue for the class identifications of methodists being primarily lower middle and working class. C. M. Young, Portrait of An Age (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), pp. 65-67; G. Kitson Clark, The Making of Victorian England (New York: Atheneum, 1967). Also, E. J. Hobsbawm "Methodism and the

Threat of Revolution in Britain," History Today, 7 (February 1957): 115-123; Elissa S. Itzkin, "The Halevy Thesis - A Working Hypothesis? English Revivalism: Antidote for Revolution and Radicalism 1789-1815," Church History 44 (March 1975): 47-56.

[65] Semmel, pp. 10-13.

[66] Ibid, pp. 146-169. Max Warren, The Missionary Movement From Britain in Modern History (London: S. C. M. Press, 1965) and Social History and Christian Mission (London: S. C. M. Press, 1967), and Gustave Warneck, Outline of a History of Protestant Missions (London: Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier, 1901), pp. 172-181, all discuss this matter. Also, Observations on the Motives and Encouragements to Active Missionary Exertions: Being the Substance of an Address Read Before the Edinburgh Association of Theological Students in Aid of the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge on Saturday, 6th of January, 1827 (Edinburgh, 1827) and Klaus Knorr, British Colonial Theories, 1570-1850 (London: Frank Cass and Co., 1963).

[67] John Wesley, "Free Grace," in Welch, p. 33.

[68] Such as John Fletcher, Augustus Montague Toplady, James Hervey. William Romaine and Hannah More were Calvinist evangelicals within the Church of England.

[69] Edmund Morgan, Visible Saints (New York: Cornel University Press, 1965) and The Puritan Family (revised ed.; New York: Harper Torch Books, 1966).

[70] The "half way covenant" was created to allow for the descendents of the "saints" (those to whom Election had been made evident in definite spiritual experiences) to be considered among the elect.

[71] John Wesley, "Free Grace," in Welch, p. 38.

[72] Ibid., p. 37.

[73] John Wesley, "The New Birth," ibid., pp. 46-60.

On April 26, 1739, Wesley recorded, "While I was preaching at Newgate . . . I was insensibly led without any previous design to declare strongly and explicitly that God willeth all men to be thus saved." In contrast, Whitfield wrote in March, 1840, from Georgia, "I am ten thousand times more convinced of the doctrine of election and the final perseverance." Semmel, p. 41.

[74] "I felt my heart strangely warmed," said Wesley on May 24, 1738. Semmel, p. 31.

[75] William Wilberforce, A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes in This Country Contrasted with Real Christianity (London, 1815).

[76] Ibid., p. 294.

[77] "Mistaken Conceptions entertained by Nominal Christians." Ibid., pp. 100-120.

[78] "On the Admissions of Passions into Religion." Ibid., pp. 69-96.

[79] John Wesley "The Way to the Kingdon," Welch, p. 63, and E. P. Thompson, p. 402.

[80] Sydney Smith, "Review on 'Strictures of Two Critiques in the Edinburgh Review on the Subject of Methodism and Missions: With Remarks on the Influence of Reviews in General, on Morals, and Happiness,' by John Styles." The Edinburgh Review 14 (April 1809) 40-50.

[81] Wilberforce. Title Page.

[82] Wilberforce regarded "the respect, regard, approbation, and favour of men" as "condusive to the glory of God." "Therefore wordly credit is of highest intrinsic excellence and wordly shame the greatest of all possible evils." Ibid., pp. 182-188.

[83] Michael Hennel, John Venn and the Clapham Sect (London: Lutterworth Press, 1958), p. 206. This saying epitomized the whole idea of stewardship.

[84] "Christianity recognizes no innocence or goodness of heart," Wilberforce, p. 367. John Newton, the Calvinist evangelical claimed that he thought being "wise or good is equally contrary to reason and truth." Cardiphonia: Or the Utterance of the Heart In a Course of Real Correspondence, 2 Vols., (London, 1812), 1:21.

[85] Wilberforce, pp. 277-278.

[86] Ibid., p. 196.

[87] Newton, 2:269.

[88] Brown, p. 54.

[89] Knibb to Margaret Williams, undated, W1/3, BMSA.

[90] Complete Works of Andrew Fuller (London, 1845), pp. 150-179. Fuller believed it was the duty of ministers to "invite" sinners to salvation and the inability of men to spiritual things was of a moral and not a "natural" aspect.

[91] An undated letter from Knibb to Samuel Nichols before he began his missionary work argued that the "invitations" of the gospel are "addressed to all without reserve." He believed a person could ask for divine help to have "a particular call" and that pride alone prevented him from asking this. W1/3, BMSA.

[92] An Account of the Proceedings of the B. M. S. 1, (1792-1798): 1-8 BMSA.

[93] Richard Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society, 2 Vols., (London: Henry Frowde, 1899), 2:48-49. As late as 1832 the Arminian and Calvinist wrangling was still going on among LMS missionaries in the West Indies. John Wray refused to hire Mr. John Adams because he was "a complete Arminian by profession" and his confession of faith proved to be a Wesleyan compromise. Correspondence between Wray, Ketley, and Scott, especially letters from Wray, June 4, 1832, and June 10, 1832, Box 4, Br.G (1832), LMSA.

[94] The following are a selection of references which discuss the influence of the evangelical discipline on nineteenth century thought and social practice.

T. B. Shepherd, Methodism and the Literature of the Eighteenth Century (London: The Epworth Press, 1947); Frederick C. Gill, The Romantic Movement and Methodism (London: The Epworth Press, 1937); Umphrey Lee, The Historical Background the Early Methodist Enthusiasm (New York: Ams Press Inc., 1967); Asa Briggs, The Making of Modern England 1783-1867 (New York: Harper, 1959); David Newsome, The Parting of Friends: A Study of the Wilberforces and Henry Manning (London: John Murray, 1966); Ernest Marshall Howse, Saints in Politics - The Clapham Sect and the Growth of Freedom (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1952); Lytton Strachey, Eminent Victorians (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918); Walter E. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind 1830-1870 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957); and Canon Charles Smyth, "The Evangelical Discipline" and Gordon

Rupp, "Evangelicalism of the Non-Conformists" in Ideas and Beliefs of the Victorians - A Historical Revaluation of the Victorian Age (B.B.C: Sylvan Press, 1949), pp. 97-104 and 105-112.

[95] "Wherever they gain a footing, or whatever the institutions to which they give birth, proselytism will be their main object . . ." Sidney Smith argued thus in Essays (London, 1808), quoted in Brown, op. cit., p. 366.

[96] Thomas Clarkson, Thoughts on the Necessity of Improving the Condition of the Slaves in the British Colonies, With a View to Their Ultimate Emancipation (London, 1823), p. 10.

[97] The two books which best provide intellectual insights to the idea of "slavery" are David Brion Davis, The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966) and Winthrop D. Jordon, White Over Black (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1968).

[98] The following magazines contained verse and articles reflecting the cult of "sentimentality." The Sentimental Magazine, The European Magazine, The Gentleman's Magazine, The Anti-Slavery Reporter and The Monthly Magazine.

There is an extensive literature dealing with the cult of sentimentality which includes:

Irving Babbitt, Rousseau and Romanticism (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1919); Peter Coveney, The Image of Childhood (London: Penguin Books, 1957); Joseph Donahue, Dramatic Character in the English Romantic Age (New York: Princeton University Press, 1970); Beatrice Eva Dykes, The Negro in English Romantic Thought, or A Study of Sympathy For the Oppressed (Washington, D. C.: The Associated Publishers, 1942); Erik Eramesta, A Study of the Word 'Sentimental' and Other Linguistic Characteristics of Eighteenth Century Sentimentalism in England. Presented to the Academia Scientiarum Fennica, May 12, 1951, Helsinki, H. N. Fairchild, The Noble Savage: A Study in Romantic Naturalism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928); Douglas Grant, The Fortunate Slave: An Illustration of African Slavery in the Early Eighteenth Century (London: Oxford University Press, 1968); Norman Verrie McCullough, The Negro in English Literature (London: Arthur H. Stockwell, 1962); and Wylie Sypher, Guinae's Captive Kings: British Anti-Slavery Literature of the Eighteenth Century (New York: Octagon Books, 1969).

[99] During the Abolition campaigns some supporter of Abolition refused to buy sugar and drink it in their tea. Gratus, pp. 74-76. In 1788 William Cowper sentimentalized, rather than politicized, anti-saccharinism in his poem "Pity for Poor Africans."

I pity them greatly but I must be mum
  For else could we do without sugar and rum,
Especially sugar, so needful we see,
  What? Give up our desserts, our coffee and tea!

[100] Stearn to Coates, October, 1833, CW/080/7, CMSA.

[101] Thomas Pattison to Butterworth, May 2, 1804, Item 30, West Indies (1803-13) WMMSA.

Jabez Bunting who took over the Wesleyan Conference after Wesley warned against backsliding into this natural state. Sermon on Justification By Faith (Leeds, 1813), p. 11.

[102] Elizabeth Hart to Pattison, May 5, 1804, Item 31, West Indies (1803-13) WMMSA.

[103] Gilgrass to Watson, February 10, 1825, Item 115, West Indies (1824-25) WMMSA.

[104] Samuel Johnson was reputed to have given a toast at Oxford to the next insurrection in the West Indies, and Boswell included pro-slavery arguments in his biography on Johnson. Davis, op. cit., p. 413. The dispute between Thomas Carlyle and John Stuart Mill over negroes and slavery surfaced with Carlyle's "The Nigger Question" and Mill's reply, "The Negroe Question," Eugene R. August, editor, The Nigger Question (New York: Meredith Corporation, 1971).

[105] "A slave so long as he is deemed to be human, must either be classed as a criminal who is beyond the pale of the social contract, or . . . a freeman who has been . . . unnaturally suppressed." Slavery was seen as an act outside the social compact in Locke's Two Treatises of Government. Davis, op. cit., p. 412.

[106] Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan (1651), in Davis, pp. 116-118.

[107] Adam Smith, The Theory of Moral Sentiments (1790). Ibid., p. 440.

[108] Montesquieu, argued in his Ouvres, that coercion was necessary for labour in the tropics and slavery was a reciprocal relationship between master and slave. Ibid., pp. 404-408 and p. 398. Gordon Turnbull, An Apology for West Indian Slavery, Or the West Indian Planters Vindicated From the Charge of Inhumanity (London, 1786), used Hume and Montesquieu's arguments on the natural order of relationships with some slaves being devoted to their masters.

[109] *A Letter to William Wilberforce on the Subject of Emancipation by an Eyewitness* (London, 1824) and *The Petition of Planters Demerara and Berbice on the Subject of Manumission* (London: 1827).

[110] A. H. Beaumont, *The Jamaica Petition for Representation in the British House of Commons . . .* (London, 1831): *A Copy of a Letter Addressed to a Member of the Legislative Assembly of Jamaica . . .* (London, 1832); C. R. Williams, *A Tour Through the Island of Jamaica From the Western to the Eastern End in the Year 1823* and "Solemn Declaration of the General Meeting of the Colonial Church Union, Falmouth, Jamaica, 28th July, 1832" quoted in Henry Bleby, *Death Struggles of Slavery* (London, 1853); James McQueen, *The West India Colonies: The Calumnies and Misrepresentations Circulated Against Them . . . Refuted* (London, 1824); James Tobin, *Cursory Remarks Upon the Rev. Mr. Ramsay's Essay* (London, 1785); Henry Nelson Coleridge, *Six Months in the West Indies* (London, 1826), p. 303, and George Wilson Bridges, *A Voice From Jamaica: In Reply to William Wilberforce* (London, 1823), *The Annals of Jamaica* (London, 1828) and *Emancipation Unmask'd* (London: 1835).

[111] George Fox, *To Friends Beyond the Sea That Have Blacks and Indian Slaves* (London, 1657).

[112] Morgan Godwyn, *The Negro's and Indian's Advocate Suing For Their Admission into the Church* (London, 1680).

[113] John Wesley, *Thoughts Upon Slavery* (London, 1774).

[114] Abraham Booth, *Commerce of Human Species and the Enslaving of Innocent Persons Inimical to the Laws of Moses and the Gospel of Christ* (London, 1788).

[115] Davis, p. 32. In the West Indies a slave was listed below the buildings and land and just above the cattle on an inventory. James Walker, *Letters on the West Indies* (London, 1818), p. 159.

[116] In the seventeenth century John Pinney of Nevis said, "Their property I hold sacred as my own, and the man that deprives them of any part forcibly deserves exemplary punishment." Richard Pares, *A West India Fortune* (London: Longmans Green, 1950), p. 132.

[117] *Negro Slavery, or, A View of Some of the More Prominent Features of That State of Society . . . Especially in Jamaica* (London, 1823). The writer is referring to the Carolina Act. However, in answer to a question about presumption by law that every negro was a slave in Demerara and Berbice it was said, "By

a Colonial regulation dated 19th February, 1814, it is enacted that a party claiming exemption from slavery is bound to produce proof of his freedom." Commissioners of Legal Enquiry in the West Indies, 1828, Item 289, Section 18, CO. 318:70. PRO.

[118] Bishop Beilby Porteus, A Letter to the Governors, Legislatures, and Proprietors of Plantations in the British West India Islands (London, 1808), p. 26.

[119] A Letter To John Bull To Which Is Added The Sketch Of A Plan For The Safe, Speedy, And Effectual Abolition Of Slavery, By a Free Born Englishman (London, 1823).

[120] Minutes of the Second Annual District Meeting Begun in Antigua on 10th May, 1808, Item 173 and Turner to Coke, 21st May, 1808, Item 175, West Indies (1803-13), WMMSA.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Conference 64, Liverpool, July 27, 1807, Minutes of Wesleyan Conference, (1799-1807): 402.

A Baptist missionary, Mr. Coultart, bought two domestic slaves in 1823 with the intention of manumitting them. The BMS agreed that his purchases were "morally justified" but were "decidely opposed to the fundamental principles of the mission." Similar future actions were discouraged and would lead to disconnection. This latter ruling was rescinded at the Quarterly Meeting, March 12, 1824, Committee Meeting, December, 18, 1823, Minute Book No. 7 July 1823-June, 1827, p. 36, BMSA.

[123] Governor Lyle Carmichael, Georgetown, to John Wray, May 15th, 1812, reminded the missionary of the scriptural sanctions for slavery. Box 2, Br. G. /D. Some widely used scriptural passages included Ephesians 6:5-8, Colossians, 3:22-25, I Timothy 6:1, Hebrews 5:8, Philippians 11:7, Corinthians 8:9 and Matthew 11:29.

[124] Davis and Jordon detail these theories as does William Stanton, The Leopard's Spots (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), and V. G. Kiernan, The Lords of Human Kind — European Attitudes To the Outside World In the Imperial Age (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972). Rev. James Ramsay, An Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Sugar Problems (London, 1784).

[125] Quoted in a diary letter from Wray to Baron Van Groveslion, May 6, 1812, Box 1, Br. G/D. LMSA.

[126] Richard Watson, *The Religious Instruction of Slaves in the West India Colonies Advocated and Defended — A Sermon Preached Before The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in the New Chapel, City Road, London, April 28th, 1824* (London, 1824), pp. 4-8. Edward Eliot, *Christianity and Slavery in a Course of Lectures Preached at the Cathedral and Parish Church of St. Michael, Barbados* (London, 1833), stated slaves were brutish only because they had been "degraded below the level of human nature."

[127] Ramsay, p. 216.

[128] William Wilberforce, *An Appeal to Religion, Justice, and Humanity* (London, 1823), p. 10. Also see Henry William Martin, *A Counter Appeal in Answer to "An Appeal from William Wilberforce"* (London, 1823).

[129] Bridges, *The Annals*, 1:511 and 519. Further tasteless descriptions are found in 2:10-12, 294, 398, 411 and 457.

[130] Coleridge, p. 81.

[131] Mrs. Carmichael, *Domestic Manners and Social Conditions of the White, Coloured, and Negro Populations in the West Indies*. 2 Volumes (London, 1833).

[132] Richard Watson, *A Sermon Preached Before the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society* . . . (London, 1824), p. 13.

[133] *A Defence of the Wesleyan Methodist Missions in the West Indies* (London, 1817), pp. 15-22.

[134] Wray to Burder, January 15, 1822, Box la Br.G(1821-22), LMSA.

[135] Knibb was irritated by missionaries who were "fine and pure ethereals" and who could not "condescend, or will not condescend to teach the meanest slave." Knibb to Margaret Williams, May 25, 1827, W1/3, BMSA.

[136] "Upon the whole, your great point must be to make the negroes under your care, not merely *nominal*, but *real* Christians." *Instructions for Missionaries to the West India Islands* (London, 1795), p. 14.

[137] Rev. Beilby Porteus, used Wesley's expression of the

slaves "being plucked as a brand from the fire" from the "horrors and superstitions of paganism." See Rev. B. Porteus, A Letter, pp. 18-19. The Secretary of the WMMS stated that "Christian love is the leaven to modify violent passions, and reform social laws." The Religious Instruction of Slaves . . ., pp. 13-17. Sir G. H. Rose expressed the ideas of Christianity civilizing in A Letter on the Means and Importance of Converting Slaves in the West Indies to Christianity (London, 1823).

[138] A Sermon Preached For the Missionary Society at Totenham Court Chapel, on Thursday Evening, May 15, 1817, by the Rev. William Harris of Cambridge (London, 1817). He also added, "Who would exchange the general character of Britons for the cozenage and perfidy of the Chinese, for the servility and duplicity of Hindoos, or for the brutal ferocity of American Savages?" P. 25.

[139] Stephen, Slavery . . ., p. 202.

[140] Wilberforce, Practical Christianity . . ., pp. 352, 337 and 308.

[141] Ibid., p. 310. [142] Ibid., p. 332.

[143] Observations on the Motives and Encouragements to Active Missionary Exertions . . . (Edinburgh, 1827).

[144] In Warren, Missionary Movement, p. 46.

[145] Rev. John Hampden, A Commentary on Mr. Clarkson's Pamphlet (London, 1824), p. 46.

[146] Wray to Burder, March 9, 1827, Box 2, Br.G/B. 1827-34, LMSA.

[147] Some illustrations that religion was a means of social control include, Two Letters of the Lord Bishop of London: The First to the Masters and Mistresses of Families in the English Plantations . . . The Second to the Missionaries There . . .(London, 1827); J. Moyes, Substance of the Speech of Ralph Bernal . . . (London, 1826); Thomas Clarkson, Thoughts Upon the Necessity of Improving the Condition of Slaves in the British Colonies With The View To Their Ultimate Emancipation (London, 1823); and Report of the Incorporated Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negroe Slaves in the British West India Islands From July to December, 1823 (London, 1823). Brown's thesis of evangelical religion influencing those "who counted" supports the whole idea that it was seen as an appropriate means to

social control.

Wesley observed that his listeners needed such civilizing, having noted that "a wilder people I never saw." A baptist missionary in Jamaica who had evangelized the villages and hamlets around Bradford, England, said the colliers there needed civilizing because the preacher's zeal and patience were sorely tested by the "savage conduct of . . . groups . . . with which the district was infested." Edward Bean Underhill, Life of James Mursell Phillippo (London, 1881), p. 22.

[148] Mrs. More was an influential evangelical and wrote many tracts which clearly indicated she saw religion as a means to social control. Brown, pp. 123-155.

[149] Mrs. Trimmer influenced the Sunday School movement and many of her writings were directed at instructing the poor about their station in life. See Sarah Trimmer, Instructive Tales, (5th ed.; London, 1821).

[150] Dawes to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, October - 1822, M1-8, CW/01-100, CMSA.

[151] Armstrong to Coates, December 26, 1828, and January 27, 1827, British Guiana (1823-58), CMSA.

[152] Proceedings of the First Anniversary Meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, Freemason's Hall, Great Queen's Street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, 25th June, 1824 (London, 1824), p. 104.

[153] First Report of the General Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (1818), WMMSA, pp. 32-40.

[154] Sermon Preached Before the SPGFP At the Parish Church of St. Mary-Le-Bow, Friday, 16th February, 1711, Being The Day of Their Anniversary Meeting (London, 1711).

My brothers, think what sort of men you are, whom God has called. Few of you are men of wisdom, by any standard; few are powerful or highly born . . . God has chosen what the world counts weakness. He has chosen things low and contemptible, mere nothings to overthrow the existing order.

Leviticus 25:44-4.

To ascertain the necessity and importance of any mission, it is necessary to inquire into the state of religious knowledge and morals among the people for whose benefit it is established. It is ignorance which renders instruction necessary, and vice which calls for the hallowing influences of the Christian system.

Richard Watson (1817).

CHAPTER III

MISSIONARY SOCIETIES AND MISSIONARIES

Introduction

It has already been observed that the urge to evangelization manifested itself in a multitude of benevolent societies including missionary societies. Evangelicals were not only idealists, disputing over vague theological subtleties; they were practical men whose urge to "good works" involved them in the world of action. Their object was to save sinners and as often as not the subjects of their evangelization were the "poor heathen." In the case of the West Indies the slave was to be simultaneously christianized and civilized thus preparing him for freedom. The instrument by which such practical effects were to occur was that of religious instruction.

Those men and women compelled to evangelize by answering the missionary "call" and those who were compelled instead to organize the practical considerations behind missionary activity joined together into various voluntary societies usually representing their peculiar denominations. Four such societies gained ground in the West Indies before Emancipation of the Slaves in 1833. These societies were the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS), The London Missionary Society (LMS), The Church Missionary Society (CMS) and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS).

It remains to examine how these Societies were created, who made up their membership, and what principles they embraced. Other important questions include who volunteered for missionary work and what were their aspirations and motives? Were they men who, coming "from the lower middle and mechanic classes," took with them "the new mechanic's consciousness of his social position, his desire to better himself" as has been argued by W. N. Gunson, Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas?[1] Is such a socio-economic explanation adequate to explain the motives of those who went to the West Indies and further, in the West Indian case, was "the need for a lower class . . . a part of the psychology of Evangelical missionaries?"[2] In short, how convincing are socio-economic and social-psychological theories of the missionary aspiration and motives in the West Indies? Did the missionary life serve "as a gratifying certificate in respect to this change of status?"[3] Considering these questions of social background, training and salaries need to be examined. Finally, were religious motives and aspirations as powerful a compunction behind missionary exertion in the West Indies as other more "rational" ones?

The Baptist Missionary Society: 1792

The Baptist Missionary Society was the first of Britain's great missionary societies to be created. Its formation was influenced by William Carey's An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians (1792). Carey argued that the urge to evangelization arose not from charity or mercy, but from one's obligations toward God and man.[4]

He concluded that when the state of the English people was compared with "those who have no bible," then the converted were even more obliged to preach the gospel abroad. He advised the funding of a missionary society on the voluntary principle and emphasized the necessity of organized and individual prayer that all might co-operate in evangelization.

His publication inspired the Baptist ministers of Kettering to meet on October 2, 1792. Out of this meeting the Baptist Missionary Society was born under the name of "The Particular Baptist Missionare Society For Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathens." Carey was one of its first missionaries and was sent to India at a salary of £150 per annum, plus £20 to learn Sanskrit and Bengali and a further £20 for his family who remained in England.[5] It was not until 1814, or twenty-two years later, that the BMS sent out its first missionaries to the West Indies.[6]

The original first resolution of the BMS included the following:

> Desirous of making an effort for the propagation of the gospel among heathens, agreeable to what is intimated in Mr. Carey's late publication on that subject, we whose names are annexed to the subsequent subscriptions do solemnly agree to act in Society together for that purpose. 7

As with all the missionary societies the heathen to be saved first were those in "Africa and the East," that is, India and Sierra Leone. The West Indies became a mission field when it was clear that the means to Christianity in that area were both insufficient and ineffectual especially in the years between Abolition and Emancipation when the slaves were to be prepared for freedom.

In Jamaica a native Baptist Church already existed, started by black missionaries from America — George Liele, George Lewis, George Gibbs and Moses Baker. Indeed it was due to an invitation from Baker that a BMS mission was first established in Jamaica. There were an estimated 800 members at Baker's church at Crooked Spring, and it was rumoured there was a possible 8,000 native Baptists on the island when the first European missionary, John Rowe, came.[8] With the arrival of Rowe on February 23, 1814, a school was opened with a Sunday School for poor children and those slaves who were permitted to attend.[9] He was followed two years later in 1816 by Mr. Compere and then Mr. Coultart.[10] However, it was not until the arrival of three rather remarkable missionaries that the BMS in Jamaica began to flourish. These three men were James Mursell Phillippo who arrived in 1823, Thomas Burchell, 1824, and the "notorious" William Knibb, 1825.[11]

The BMS was the least structured of the four societies as from the outset the society encouraged its missionaries to become self supporting as soon as was practicable. If a missionary was "called" by a West Indian congregation he was encouraged to establish a permanent church with them just as he would in England. The congregational system was used when a minister was not ordained and given a living. But, once having demonstrated his abilities, the church congregation called him to be its pastor. In the early decades the missionaries set up mission stations and established churches and schools in Jamaica. By 1831, the BMS had fourteen pastors, twenty-four churches, and 10.838 members. Between 1827 and 1831 thirteen missionaries had been added and the stations grew from eleven to forty-two. In Kingston alone, two churches were reported to have 4,000 members, and three ministers, and a British School. In Spanish Town, a British School and a School of Industry had been commenced.[12] Thus by the end of the Apprenticeship period (1834-38) most of the Baptist missionaries had settled congregations and their own churches.

The Baptists waxed stronger than any other religious group in the West Indies and their militancy against the plantocracy assisted in bringing the abuses of slavery before the British public. During the 1831 Jamaica Slave rebellion it was the sectarians and particularly the Baptists who were blamed for having incited the slaves to revolt. The trouble was significantly called "The Baptist War," and at this time William Knibb was arrested.[13]

The London Missionary Society: 1795

Three years after the formation of the BMS the first meeting of the London Missionary Society (initially known as The Missionary Society) was held. A circular letter titled "An Address to Christian Ministers and All Other Friends on the subject of Missions to the Heathen," January, 1795, had initiated the meeting. Preceding this letter several publications had aroused interest in the formation of such a society. These were written by Rev. David Bogue who had attended the Countess of Huntingdon's Calvinistic college at Trevecca and who had left the Church of Scotland to become a Congregationalist. His first plea "To the Evangelical Dissenters Who Practice Infant Baptism" was published in the Evangelical Magazine in 1793 and was followed by a "Call to the Professors of the Gospel" in

September, 1794.[14]

The first general meeting of the LMS was held at the Castle and Falcon, Aldergate Street, on the 21st September, 1795 and stated as its object that it intended "to spread the knowledge of Christianity among the heathen and other unenlightened nations."[15] Its membership was to be inter-denominational. Despite its attempts to unite Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents and Whitfieldians into "one active and harmonious society without acknowledging the peculiarities or superiority of any of them,"[16] the Society in fact consisted primarily of calvinist Methodists and Presbyterians, both clergy and wealthy laymen, as well as some evangelical clergymen of the Established Church.[17] The fundamental principle of the LMS was resolved by the Directors on May 9, 1796, and was as follows:

> As the union of God's people of various denominations, in carrying on this great work is a most desirable object, so to prevent, if possible, any cause of future dissension, it is declared to be a fundamental principle of the Missionary Society, that our design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church Order and Government (about which there may be a difference of opinion among serious persons) but the Glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the Heathen, and that it shall be left (as it ought to be left) to the minds of the persons whom God may call into the fellowship of His Son from among them to assume for themselves such form of Church Government as to them shall appear most agreeable to the Word of God. 18

The fundamental principle of unity was constantly reiterated throughout the Society's history although the independent churches based on congregationalist principles and infant baptism came to be the major supporters of it. Seemingly the ideal of Christianity expressed in John Wesley's hymn was to be practically implemented in the organization of the LMS.

> Love like Death hath all destroyed
> Rendered all distinctions void,
> Name and Sects and Parties fall,
> And thou O Christ art all in all!

On reviewing the LMS's trust in keeping to its fundamental principle of unity, Reverend John McFarlane in 1842 noted that it had come to be supported entirely by Independents and Congregationalists and that its missions and churches had adopted these forms of church government only. The Eclectic Review denied this was the case, pointing out that the Society

> . . . has always kept good faith with its principle; but its agents, unfettered in their operations, with the Word of Life in their hands have by it been led to "adopt" such a form in the churches which they have planted. 19

McFarlane's views were certainly an accurate reflection of British Guiana. The missionaries sent there were predominantly congregationalist in church organization and calvinistic in theology. There is no evidence that British Guiana was in any manner a unique experiment on the part of the LMS.

After extensive missionary work in Europe to convert the Catholics and Orthodox there and to minister to Protestants in Catholic countries, the first LMS missionaries were sent to the South Sea Islands on a vessel called "The Duff." On the voyage they encountered a series of catastrophes including capture by French and Portugese privateers. It is hardly surprising that a number of potential missionaries promptly left the Society feeling that they must have been given a portent of God's reluctance to participate in evangelizing the heathen![20] It was not until 1798 that the society contemplated for the first time "A mission to the poor blacks,"[21] and even then it took until 1808 to bring such a mission to fruition.

> It has long been in the contemplation of the Society to send missionaries to the negroes of the West Indian islands. Few, perhaps, of all the children of Adam can have a stronger claim on our benevolence than those unhappy people, who have been cruelly torn from their native country and dearest connections, the victims of violence and avarice. The abolition of the slave trade, an event in which, with missions of our fellow subjects, we sincerely rejoice, seems to promise a fairer prospect than before for the evangelizing of our sable brethren . . . 22

Early in 1808, John Wray, later to become one of the most influential missionaries in British Guiana sailed to Demerara,[23] to be followed on April 22 by Richard Elliot to Tobago. As early as March 7th, John Wray wrote from the plantation, Le Resouveir, that he had "instituted a school for black children" and "every day about twenty attend."[24] John Wray had been the Society's one hundred and seventh appointment and Richard Elliot, its one hundred and eighth, which suggests that both the South Seas and Europe took precedence over the West Indies in the LMS's urge to evangelize the heathen.[25]

As with the Baptist, William Knibb, in Jamaica, the LMS had its "notorious" missionary, a certain John Smith who became the "martyr" for the abolitionist and evangelical causes. He died from persecution and imprisonment after being tried and accused of inciting the Demerara slave rebellion of 1823.[26]

By 1833 the LMS had five missionaries in British Guiana. In Berbice three of them were stationed at Lonsdale, New Amsterdam, and Hanover, respectively. Two were in Demerara at Providence and Ebenezer Chapels. The LMS men at this time included John Wray, James Scott, James Mirams, James Howe and Joseph Ketley.

The Church Missionary Society: 1799

The CMS was the creation of the evangelical wing of the Established Church. It was founded by pious laymen particularly those who had been members of, or on the periphery of, the Clapham Sect. Some of the more well known evangelical names connected with the CMS included Charles Simeon, John Venn, Henry Thornton, Zachary Macaulay, James Stephen, Thomas Babington, Granville Sharp and William Wilberforce. The CMS was an offshoot of the Eclectic Society which began in 1783 as a kind of debating society discussing such topics as "What is the best method of propagating the gospel in Botany Bay, or in the East Indies, and in Africa?" On March 18, 1799, John Venn introduced the topic, "What methods can we use more effectively to promote the knowledge of the gospel among the heathen?"[27] Venn and Simeon led the group to resolve to form the Society for Missions in Africa and the East.[28] By 1812 it was more commonly known as the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East.[29]

The "Castle and Falcon" the meeting place of the Eclectic Society was the place where the LMS had first held its meetings. Later it moved to the establishment of a bookseller in Fleet Street, and here meetings were held on the first Friday of every month. Zachary Macaulay, Governor of Sierra Leone and editor of the Christian Observer, John Venn, rector at Clapham, and the Reverend John Newton sat on the first Committee. Later governors of the committee of the CMS included such eminent gentlemen as Thomas Babington, Henry Thornton, William Wilberforce and Lord Gambier.[30]

In the spirit of Carey's Enquiry the first resolution made individual action imperative by stating, "that it is a duty highly incumbent upon every Christian . . . to propagate the gospel among the heathen."[31] Among the original laws of the society it was confirmed that "a friendly intercourse shall be maintained with other Protestant societies engaged in the same benevolent design of propagating the gospel of Jesus Christ."[32] As a result of this spirit, in 1813 The Missionary Register was established, an official organ of all missionary societies, under the editorship of Rev. Josiah Pratt, Secretary of the CMS.

There arose fairly sustained criticism from some Anglicans over the establishing of another missionary society in addition to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge.[33] In defense of the CMS, however, it was pointed out that these societies basically served the white and free populations of the colonies (and them not inordinately well). There was a clear need to serve the slave population in the plantation colonies as well as the heathen of Africa and India. The evangelical wing within the Church of England recognized the usefulness of the other societies but pointed out that there was no society within the Church of England "with the exclusive object of contributing to the evangelization of the heathen world."[34]

According to John Venn the CMS was to be a society not based on "high church principle" but on church principle. Thus that laymen as well as clergymen should be allowed to serve as missionaries. In addition, he reasoned, if a native Christian community were to be raised up it ought to belong to the Established Church. As matters stood, both Romanists and Dissenters were already sending their agents to mission fields and reaping the advantages of doing so. In keeping with the growing notions of Empire he argued that if the world had only 175 million people professing to Christianity out of 800 million, then herein lay a grand opportunity for conversions. The benefits of Christianity, it was stated in the Society's General Objectives, should be made available to husbands, wives, fathers, sons, masters and servants which could not fail to improve civil and social life as well as international friendship.

> A mild and equitable spirit is infused into legislation and civil government. Rulers become the fathers of their people, and subjects cheerfully yield obedience. 35

However, it was not until a member of the Committee and an ex-Governor of Sierra Leone, Mr. William Dawes, settled in Antigua in 1813, that the CMS showed any real interest in the West Indies. The CMS worked in Antigua from 1815 to 1829, supported a school in Barbadoes until a West Indian bishopric was established, failed at several attempts in St. Vincents and Dominica to work with the slaves and disbanded soldiers and with the Indians of the Mosquito shore; failed in Honduras; and sent catechists to Jamaica, Demerara and Essequibo. All endeavours were eventually relinquished in favour of the parish system. In all, the CMS does not have a very virile history in the West Indies for its effective work was carried out in India and Africa. Most of its efforts occurred during the 1830s and were aided by governments grants after Emancipation.[36] Because the Established Church had priority status in the West Indies, the

CMS did not see this area as a serious challenge. Their evangelization there seemed more motivated by the fact that the Dissenters had preceded them. Even their first contacts were made only because William Dawes went to conduct business there and contacted the CMS to contribute to missionary work already begun by the Methodists.[37]

The urge to evangelization was apparently less strong in the Church of England than in the Dissenting churches. English recruits were hard to come by and in its beginnings the Society co-operated with a seminary in Germany. Indeed, by 1812 it had sent twelve Lutheran missionaries to represent it in Sierra Leone! Desperate for recruits, and embarrassed by the reluctance of Englishmen to come forward, the Society even attempted a largely unsuccessful scheme of co-operation with groups in Philadelphia and Boston in the hope of using negroes who might speak African languages. In the first fifteen years, of twenty-four missionaries, only seven were English and of those seven only three were ordained. It was not until fourteen years after its inception that the English bishops agreed to ordain CMS missionaries and even then they did it reluctantly and under extraordinary provisions.[38] These restrictions caused resentment among the missionaries in the West Indies and contributed to the Society's eventual withdrawal from the West Indian scene. By 1831 the CMS had thirteen stations, 13 schools and eight catechists in Jamaica. The stations were at Papine, Cavaliers, Montgomery, Coly, Moore Town, Port Antonio, Charles Town, Accompong, Salt Savannah, Anchovy Valley, Retreat Plantation, Prospect and Spanish Town. In British Guiana, Charles Carter, catechist, was at Leguan

Island station. The CMS had dissolved its participation in Antigua by 1829.[39]

The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society: 1813

In one respect it is an error to date the founding of the WMMS in the year 1813 as is often done. The British Methodist circuits had sent preachers as missionaries to the West Indies in a freelance manner for some seventy years previously. Because of the nature of the Methodist "Conference," which had always appointed missionaries and to whom they are still finally responsible, the WMMS actually had no "separate autonomous identity." Neither were its members "distinguished by the donation of an annual subscription" as was the case with the other societies.[40] Interest in the West Indies had been formally initiated in 1784 by Dr. Thomas Coke, with Wesley's approval,[41] on whose advice the Conference appointed overseas missionaries two years later. Coke himself had visited the West Indies on his first mission in 1786 and found in Antigua a society established by Nathanial Gilbert who preached to his own slaves. By the time of Coke's mission it is thought there were possibly 2,000 members in the Antigua society consisting primarily of slaves.

Until 1813 then it was the Methodist Conference and not a specific society that sent missionaries abroad. The year 1813 is given as the date of the Society's founding because it was in this year, on the 6th of October, that Jabez Bunting helped formulate nineteen resolutions at a public meeting in "Old Boggard House Leeds. After this, other towns formed auxiliary societies. The WMMS was the result of the welding together of these auxiliaries.[42] In 1814

Richard Watson was appointed the First Home Organization Secretary and the official organ, Missionary Notices, was published.

By 1820 the West Indies were sub-divided by the Methodists into four "districts" consisting of Antigua, St. Vincent, Jamaica, and Bahamas, which were in turn divided into rotating circuits. The Jamaica District had eight mission stations and twelve missionaries; the Windwards which included Antigua and St. Vincent districts had twenty-one missionaries. These missionaries included the following among their circuits — Antigua, Dominica, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Christopher, St. Eustatius, St. Bartholomew, St. Martin, Anguilla, Tortola, and the Virgin Islands. The St. Vincent's district, with fifteen missionaries, included St. Vincent, Grenada, Trinidad, Barbados, Tobago, Demerara, and St. Lucia. Finally, the Bahama district, with six missionaries included New Providence, Harbour Island, Abaco, Turk's Island and Bermudas. All thirty-three missionaries were directly responsible to the Conference and each district had a secretary to organize its formal structure and superintend its affairs.[43] The methodist evangelization of the West Indian Islands therefore reflected the "methodistical system" which had been developed in the British Isles with districts, circuits, societies, class leaders, and intinerancy.[44] Its preachers were largely unlearned men with little formal educational background and little formal ministerial instruction.

As with the LMS and the BMS the Methodists could claim a specific object of persecution, this time in Barbadoes in the person of Rev. Shrewsbury.[45] At Bridgetown in October, 1823, a methodist chapel was demolished after a concentrated period of consistent harassment and intimidation by the white residents. Mr. Shrewsbury was hounded from the island and with his pregnant wife forced to flee to St. Vincent's.[46] Afraid of similar oppression the Jamaican Methodist missionaries met in Kingston and proclaimed this belief that "Christianity does not interfere with the civil condition of slaves."[47] The Committee at home protested such a claim and officially declared it to be "the duty of every Christian government to bring the state of slavery to an end . . . with a just consideration of the interests of all parties concerned."[48] In all, the affair caused great excitement both in England and in the West Indies.

It is interesting that the Methodists in the West Indies were generally more conciliatory to the plantocracy than the other sectarians and the CMS agents. Apparently the common reputation of Methodists as civil protesters was either no longer applicable, but mininally transferred to the West Indian situation. The WMMS reported in 1833 that there were 2,816 members in society, of which 2,321 were slaves. Four missionaries ministered to schools at Parham, St. John's, Sion Hill, English Harbour and Willoughby Bay.[49]

According to the figures reported by the four Societies demonstrating the work done by them during slavery it can be concluded that their success in evangelizing was minimal. The 1829 census for Jamaica, Antigua, and British Guiana reported 443,046 slaves. Thirty-two missionaries from the four societies came to the West Indies during slavery. This amounted to approximately 13,845 slaves per missionary to evangelize, all things being equal, which of course, they were not. Given results so discouraging, it is interesting to enquire what motivations and aspirations seemed to induce missionaries to go to and to remain in such unreceptive ground? Was it a way of "escape" for some, as Max Warren[50] mentions; or was the motivation the promise of rapid social mobility and the socio-psychological determinant suggested by W. N. Gunson? One thing does seem clear: if one was socially ambitious, the West Indies was not the place to go. The nature of missionary service there, the conditions of life, and the fates of all too many can hardly be considered as attractive.

The Missionaries

If we consider only the social backgrounds of the missionaries we might tend to agree with Gunson. The words of Rev. J. W. Cunningham suggests no less when he observed in 1817 in a missionary sermon that "generally speaking, the missionaries of the gospel will not be found among the higher orders of society."[51] That was true but it must be said that neither were they to be found among the dregs of society! This can be demonstrated by considering the backgrounds of a sample of these "godly mechanics"[52] for our period of study.

The LMS missionaries reflected a wider range of social and educational backgrounds than those of other societies. The letters from British Guiana were surprisingly erudite, informative, and often engaged in theologically sophisticated disputation. John Wray, the first LMS missionary, was sent out to Demerara in 1807. He was "about twenty-seven years old, not highly educated or richly endowed with natural gifts, but a man of sterling character, sound common sense, and truly Christian in spirit."[53] This might describe most of the men who were sent to the mission field. The matter of character, rather than intellectual ability or socio-economic class, was always foremost in the choice of candidates for the training colleges. Those chosen to enter were carefully screened, even in the case of the CMS where the candidates were so few. Several examinations were required including recommendations by ministers and the society committee. During their training they were watched carefully to see whether they were "of good report and pious habits."[54]

In the thirties, the LMS which sent out Congregationalists and Presbyterians, included among its West Indian agents, William Parish, the son of a baker, of a "common education" and trained as a British system teacher; James Bowrey, an assistant to a wholesale and retail soda wafer manufacturer, with little "formal grammar"; Joseph Ketley, a Brussels carpet weaver, who attended day school until ten, and then went on to grammar school. The Reverend Ebenezer Davies had a "plain education," but knew some Latin and Greek, classics, philosophy, theology, Hebrew and Syriac. He had attended Rotterdam College for his missionary preparation. George Pettigrew had attended school until he was ten and was a cabinet and chair maker. He was largely renowned for his proficiency in the three R's only. James Parker, however, had been a lawyer and school master. John Dagleish had been apprenticed to a merchant but under private teachers had acquired Greek Latin, Logic, Moral Philosophy, Divinity, History, and even some university instruction.[55] Such men clearly came from the lower middle class or the aristocracy of labour.

The BMS candidates of the twenties did not differ significantly from those of the LMS. James M. Phillippo was the son of a master builder, and gained his education at evening school. He attended the BMS training college at Bristol and using the British system became the most influential Baptist educator in Jamaica. He had some knowledge of manual arts which he saw as necessary for the practical life of a missionary, including some medicine, brickbuilding, wheelwrighting, agriculture, and cabinet making. Thomas and William Knibb were the sons of a bankrupt tailor, and became printers by trade. They attended Kettering Free School. William Knibb was reputed to have had difficulty in the acquisition of languages, essential for mission fields other than the West Indies.[56] Presumedly Jamaica was not his first choice. Neither was it for Thomas Burchell,[57] who being the son of a middle class wool-stapler, and a descendent of Isaac Newton, was the exception rather than the rule. He attended Tetbury Commercial and Grammar School and was apprenticed to a cloth manufacturer. Henry Tripp, who was assigned to Jamaica in 1822 was a carpenter.

The missionaries of the CMS had similar backgrounds. Those candidates who attended Islington College were carefully selected primarily for their commitment to the missionary call and their soundness in habits and piety. Yet candidates for the CMS were scarce and this may have been due to a preference by members of the Established Church for curacies and benefices at home. Clearly, ordinations for the CMS were of an inferior kind, specifically designed for the mission field and under such conditions which specified such men would be unable to take up livings if they returned to England. As a result, few candidates were ordained before Emancipation. Most were catechists and schoolmasters with training in the National System of education. Those who chose the route of ordination were often treated quite cavalierly by the Established clergy in the West Indies. Several catechists sought ordination while in the West Indies because, being treated as distinctly inferior, they were even unable to attract converts and fulfill their missionary call effectively. At no time were they given to understand they had raised their social status by becoming missionaries.

If Gunson is right, it is only in the case of the Wesleyans in the West Indies. A difference in the standards of correspondence, for instance, is perceptible with the Methodists. These were literate men, but distinctly less formally educated than their missionary counterparts from other societies. The Wesleyans did not generally have missionary training at a specific institution but were subject to the usual requisites of methodist preachers in England. In fulfillment of the Wesleyan emphasis on the world mission, these were preachers with a particular call to the mission field. The missionaries chosen were either candidates for ~~the~~ mission field, "or employed in the regular ministry."[58] Such a preacher was expected to have travelled for four years, and his experience as an itinerant preacher was seen as suitable and sufficient background for missionary work. This experience then might be seen as a counter-balance to formal education. If a "special education" was needed he was to receive it after three or four years of probation. A Methodist missionary was expected to serve twenty years abroad with a minimum of ten years if in a tropical country. The Methodists in the West Indies were generally as unloved there as they were in England and this was due as much to their rudimentary education as to their zealous preaching. Their correspondence was on the whole more "enthusiastic" than that of the other societies and as a result more repetitive and uninformative. The correspondence clearly bore the mark of a more overtly fervent and simpler group of men.[59]

Gunson's argument does not then appear tenable in the West Indian situation. These men knew they were entering into a class determined society. Had these same missionaries remained at home they could scarcely have been worse off socially, psychologically, or for that matter physically, than they were in the West Indies. It is by no means clear that any of the opportunities Gunson mentioned were realized by missionaries in Antigua, Jamaica, or British Guiana. They were not welcomed into white society — "the greater middle class." They were often prevented from making an effective impact upon slave society — "the lower orders."[60] They were ill received by the Established Clergy and local dissenting ministers. And their salaries scarcely provided adequate compensation for their low social status.

A discussion of matters of salary might be another prima facie evidence for the argument that the missionary life provided men with a social status denied them in England. Such a discussion must consider "real wages" and include comparisons between missionary stipends and mechanic's wages, or a comparable cleric's salary in Britain with that of the West Indies. Further to this, although the cost of living in the colonies differed according to the colony and was in no way uniform throughout the West Indies, at a minimum it was probably double that of the average cost of living in Great Britain. Fortunately, the Bishop of Jamaica provides some clues as to what might be considered a minimum standard salary as a yardstick by which to evaluate where the missionaries fitted in this scale.

The minimum salary insisted upon by the Bishop in relation to CMS missionaries was stipulated at £200 per annum and this in sterling and not local currency.[61] The minimal stipend for curates in Jamaica before 1818 had been £300 and this had increased to £500 by 1824. By 1825 rectors received £600 exclusive of fees. The CMS was to continue bickering with the bishop's stipulated minimal requirement right into the thirties. Indeed, in 1825, two catechists and their wives received under £200 for the four of them![62] In 1829, the annual expense for nine CMS teachers, several of whom were not missionaries, averaged £775 local currency per annum, which equalled £400 sterling. One can instantly see how much less than the Bishop's minimum salary these teachers were receiving. With an almost double cost of living it can scarcely be said these nine teachers and catechists were living "high off the hog."[63] It was no small wonder that during the twenties three CMS missionaries resigned, Messrs. Wood, Whitehorn, and Taylor. Taylor eventually became a Baptist, due to the bishop's stubborn procrastination over his licensing and ordination. To become a Baptist was in no way raising one's respectability," although one could eventually become a minister in that church and perhaps that mattered for something.[64] But Taylor's wry words to the CMS indicates not so much social aspiration as much as his awareness of the social reality of economic deprivation. "If your catechists are not supported in a respectable manner they are not likely to do much good in this island."[65]

Further evidence of some economic deprivation can be seen in the case of John Armstrong, a CMS missionary in Demerara. Armstrong had a total of £192. 5. 0 in expenses for the year 1820 which included food at £140, Clothing at £15. 15. 0, servants at £30 and Sundries at £7. 10. 0.[66] Given the amount for sundries one might assume Mr. Armstrong was not being over indulgent. The wear and tear on clothing in a tropical climate, the cost of provisions, and the expense of domestics (usually hired-out slaves) were a constant source of anxiety to missionaries. In 1828, Mr. Collins Simpson, a proprietor, was advising the society to give the £200 as a minimum for its agents in British Guiana, and even then "the greatest prudence and economy must be used."[67]

The salaries of missionaries differed according to their location and their situation. Not all missionaries were ordained and catechists received less than ministers, while native and creole schoolmasters and catechists received considerably less again.[68] If one argues that the missionaries were of a higher socio-economic level than the latter and certainly higher than the slave and free coloured populated generally, it must not be forgotten that groups take their reference not from lower socio-economic groupings usually but from "significant others" in comparable occupations.

LMS missionaries had no more economic comfort than the CMS ones. John Wray complained in 1820 that his congregation could not support him, and when he compared the cost of building materials in India cited in Missionary Register, ruefully noted that "a chimney in this country will cost more than a chapel in India." Yet the law obliged him to have such a chimney in his kitchen. The £200 salary given to him by the LMS could not go far and he suggested £300 per annum as a minimum salary.[69]

With the exception of the BMS, the societies stressed that their missionaries were not to "follow a trade"; yet in the same breath they exhorted them to become financially independent as soon as practicable.[70] During the years of slavery this was understandably difficult. Slaves had insufficient resources to support a missionary and his family, let alone build and upkeep chapels or schoolhouses. The first years of a mission were thus particularly distressing. John Rowe of the BMS had but a £100 bill to start his mission. The accountant for the society, Mr. Fosbrooke, was outraged at "the foolishness of beginning in such a manner, an undertaking of which they appeared quite ignorant." He inquired what if he had not favoured the bill of exchange, and further, what was to happen when it was spent?[71] In reply Rowe advertised a school and offered a general education. He was allowed to do this, although the other three societies were not so permissive with their missionaries.

The four societies did not differ radically from each other in the salaries they paid their missionaries. On an average it was less than £200 with the CMS offering about £105 and the WMMS between £130 to £150 for married men and £100 to £180 for single men, according to the cost of living in the various locations.[72] It was not until 1823 that the Methodists in Antigua were allowed either horses or carriages to extend the mission — a remarkable example of thriftiness given that Methodists were all travelling preachers.[73]

Sometimes, as in the case of John Wray, the Commissioners of the Crown Colony of Berbice agreed to pay his salary for the instruction he gave to the Crown slaves.[74] At other times a proprietor of an estate who had requested a missionary paid part of the salary and included either a house or board, and occasionally a garden plot, or provisions during crop-time, such as sugar, rum, or coffee.[75] Under this scheme of things it might be assumed that some estates were more coveted than others depending on the generosity and sympathy of the proprietor or his attorney. However, it was by chance and not intention that any missionary benefited materially from such arrangements. Most preferred not to be subjected to the inevitable constraints related to an estate position, constraints which included the financial dependency on the goodwill or otherwise of a planter, and quite often his interference in teaching and preaching to his slaves. In fact, in 1813 Wray chose to leave "Le Resouvier" the estate once belonging to Mr. Post. He stated it was to "free the society" of his expenses but some previously vexed letters suggest it was more likely due to the white proprietor's demanding irascibility and arbitariness over Wray's six years of service. However, two fellow missionaries, Kempton and Elliot, apparently viewed his position on Post's estate as comfortable and prestigious; perceptions which caused some bitter dissension among the three missionaries.[76]

When Thomas Jones arrived at Port Royal in Jamaica on the 15th of January, 1826, to attend upon Papine Estate as a schoolmaster for the CMS, he was optimistic about his appointment. However, when his family of four ended up sleeping in one bed in a room scarcely bigger than the bed while the overseer slept unperturbed by their plight in the "big house," and when he gave instruction in a boiling house, and outdoors during crop time, he quite understandably felt optimistic no longer.[77] He must also have very rudely and quickly comprehended his lack of social status. Joshua Wood, two years later, lived in an overseer's house and was conscious he was residing with those who were "odious" to the negroes, and had "antithetical principles" to himself.[78] He found the situation barely tolerable. Another CMS missionary, Mr. Taylor, taught in a windowless, airless curing-house, and then in a tent. His wife died having been delivered of a child in wretched conditions with the Attorney not offering the use of his spare bedroom. They were forced to lodge with the overseer for their first four months and thought it "might as well as have been a brothel."[79] The advantages of a comfortable estate position were thus often greatly outweighed by the disadvantages. Even for John Wray, as it worked out, the promise of £300 per annum, his own horse, servants, sugar, coffee, plantains and firewood, did not always materialize when he moved from Demerara to Berbice. Indeed, in 1821 his salary was lowered to £150 and being in debt he requested £400 from the Society as the cost of living in British Guiana was considerably higher than the West Indian islands.[80]

It is difficult to argue the case that the missionaries were overpaid, or even adequately paid. Given the comparable cost of living in the West Indies it is more probably they were more often underpaid. Certainly the letters of the first twenty years demonstrate this. They consistently pleaded for more funds from their societies and poignantly argued their position if they overspent. Rarely were their salaries equal to their personal expenditures. The societies without exception demonstrated a callousness about this matter and the correspondence is full of knuckle-rapping from the paternalistic voluntary society committees in London, refusing to forward bills of exchange, or meet debts, and often accusing their agents of extravagence and imprudence.[81] In the first years of the Demerara mission one man was gently but firmly chastized by the LMS committee. "Ah dear brother, the lack of [prudence] has tainted many a religious character, and brought great disgrace in the Redeemer's cause."[82] In answer to a reproof as late as 15th November, 1833, another missionary wrote to the same society about his reputed extravagence in buying a gig. "I borrowed, until I was ashamed ...."[83] Funds for unplanned exigencies, such as doctors' bills or horses necessary for travel between estates and stations, were reluctantly requested and even more reluctantly given.

Economic independence is a usual measure of a "rise" in social status and the missionaries did not have this. Financial dependence upon their societies was the source of great humiliation and emotional strain. It pervaded everything, their school and chapel supplies, land purchases, buildings, household effects, personal and miscellaneous expenditures, and travel expenses. Societies, operated on the voluntary principle in London, could not keep up with the demands for funds with the result that the missionaries seemingly were abandoned for interminable lengths of time between contacts. Desperate and unhappy letters from financially burdened missionaries took several months to reach London, and several months passed for the replies to be written and arrive back in the islands.

Financial dependence assisted in retarding the autonomy of missionaries; but it also led to exaggerated reports of their work and influence so that funds might not diminish, or cease coming altogether. William Knibb, was one of the exceptions to the rule that missionaries did not generally rise in the world during slavery. William Knibb did very well for himself. But then he was a man of exceptional preaching talents and canny organizational abilities.[84]

To have improved himself substantially from his appointment a missionary must have come almost from nothing socially. As to the availability and cheapness of domestic servants in the West Indies, nineteenth century England itself was notorious for the abundance and cheapness of this form of household help and servants could be afforded by even the lower middle class there. If the social mobility Gunson refers to is merely a matter of a skilled artisan rising to the equivalent of a poor curate, or a self-advertising schoolmaster, then such mobility may well have occurred. But this is scarcely a startling class leap or indeed a social advancement. Salaries of many English curates and schoolmasters and missionaries were similar; the missionary faced a higher cost of living so he was worse off financially.[85]

Low and inadequate incomes were not the only drawback to missionary life. It is now time to consider other disadvantages of missionary life in the West Indies during slavery. Such matters as alienation, isolation and emotional deprivation cannot be underestimated. The missionaries were alienated from the rest of white society, partly as a result of a self-imposed ghetto mentality but also because of the contempt, hostility, and even persecution they received. Separated from the emotional supports of evangelical community life, friends, family, and a familiar culture, their feeling of isolation is one of the strongest impressions a reader gets from their correspondence. Sick at heart, John Smith commented that he was "as much shut out from civilized society as if I were in the interior of Africa though surrounded by Europeans."[86] John Wray was a very tired and dispirited man when he said he felt "quite weary of contentions and persecutions . . . and his and his wife's health and spirits [were] worn out." Such isolation led to chronic depression and even insanity as in the case of the Methodist Samuel Brown.[87]

Natural disasters came frequently enough to debilitate others in more comfortable circumstances. Hurricanes, floods and epidemics destroyed their missions and ruined years of labour and effort. They were on occasion expected to endure intolerable living quarters infested by insects, cockroaches, rats and mosquitoes. The heat and climate caused physical debilitation that frequently led to the deaths both of the missionaries themselves and of members of their families. The BMS's first missionary, John Rowe, died within two years of arriving in Jamaica. He was soon followed by Christopher Kitching in 1818. Thomas Godden "lost his health" in 1819 as did Joshua Tinson in 1822. In 1823, Thomas Knibb died, as did Ebenezer Phillips a year later. Henry Tripp left Jamaica in 1823 when his wife died. James Coultart lost his first wife in 1817 and both he and his second wife became desperately ill. These are examples from only one society. In the BMS alone from 1813-1830 of twenty-three missionaries, seven previously healthy men died, and eight resigned unable to endure the rigors of the life. The other three societies have similar records and this is not counting the numerous deaths of their children.[88]

The missionaries were fully cognizant of the risks involved in the West Indies before leaving the comparative safety of Britain. But most were, as Max Warren observes, "ready to be offered," — offered to danger, violence, and even death.[89] The West Indies was infamous as a "demographic disaster area" and the pattern of "human spoliation" was as indiscriminate as it was brutal, to white men and slaves alike.[90] Subordinating missionary or religious motives to social and economic ones must therefore be rejected. The numbers of men and women who died in the West Indies for "true and vital" religion cannot be dismissed.[91] In his sermon before a group of departing missionaries the Rev. J. Cunningham pointed out that learned men and gentlemen were unprepared for the hardships of missionary life because "the indulgencies of early years, and the very refinement of polite education, indispose and unfit men for the acknowledged hardships of missionary life."[92] One need only to recall that of the first sixty LMS missionaries, only nine proved themselves fit to remain for ten years, and as early as 1800 twenty of thirty LMS men had proven unequal to the task and returned. Three had already died. Lavish recruitment was never marked in any of the societies despite broad evangelical militancy. To forget all of this would be not only a disservice to the missionaries but also a distortion of historical evidence. If there were any economic motives and social aspirations, the main purpose of this study is not to expose them; rather it is to see how religious motives worked themselves out in missionary education. This can be done most effectively by accepting that being "constrained by Jesus's love"[93] was the first cause of what could only otherwise be understood as a most unreasonable way of seeking social advancement.

Even in the case of the missionary who could not "make it" socially as a minister in England, we cannot ignore that the prime motive was a religious one — a commitment to serve Christ full time — even when his first choice was to be a cleric and his second choice to gain this through mission work. We must not forget either the numbers of missionaries who chose this demanding life while remaining catechists and teachers, mere underlings in the social order.

The previous arguments about salaries and status should have put theories of social aggrandizement as prime motivations in their place. Gunson's argument may well have been applied in the case of the South Sea Islands missionaries, but it cannot stand up to close examination in the West Indies before 1833. Unlike the South Seas, India, or Africa, the West Indies was a European social order, with the powerful and wealthy class clearly defined as landowners and slave owners. Missionaries per se shared in neither forms of property and at no time prior to Emancipation were they able to gain the sort of status Gunson's theory suggests although things were to alter during the apprenticeship period.

When a discussion of the aspirations and motivations of missionaries attempts to discredit religious motives, it may sometimes be suggested that such men attended training institutions and seminaries to "upgrade" themselves. As a final caveat to the discussion then this aspect must be examined for it is true that a cabinet maker is no longer only a cabinet maker once he has been "set apart" and given a specialized training in another field. All the Societies except the Wesleyans insisted upon a vocational training for their men — "a system of education to promote the attainment of literacy" to avoid the "numerous disadvantages arising out of an uneducated ministry."[94]

Once a cabinet maker received training as a schoolmaster, frequently a major part of missionary training, it may appear that he had taken a step to psycho-sociological advancement. This may well have been the case had the candidates concerned supposed they might remain in England to take up their religious vocations or practice their new craft. This was not the case because the training given prospective missionaries was clearly defined as "missionary" and "therefore conducted on a plan dissimilar from other seminaries."[95] As such it was unlikely that it would be either duplicated or recognized except as such. Logic, composition, language, and science might be part of the secular curriculum but these were always subordinated to a "scriptural" education. In the words of the LMS Committee, set up to establish a seminary at Gosport in 1800, the missionary instructions "must chiefly refer to the heart and instead of cherishing the desire of shining in the world by distinguished talents, must aim at subdueing every elating thought."[96] Furthermore it was understood, sometimes under "solemn declaration," that the instruction received was to be for no other purpose than that of missionary work. The LMS candidates had to show proficiency by the end of their training in mechanical and agricultural arts, but only in those particularly suited to "countries rude and barbarous."[97] Languages were taught according to the mission one was likely to be sent to.

It must be restated that the prime motivation for missionaries was the matter of religion. Only such a motivation can explain why those who were able remained and worked in a society so unreceptive to them. Theirs might be seen as a thankless task unless one accepts a religious "calling" as being a powerful force. What they aspired to was the conversion of slaves. Incidentally their salvation might better prepare them for freedom. If few received religious instruction, those that did and "heard the gospel" were apparently reason enough to remain and continue to work among them. The urge to evangelization cannot be reduced only to material and economic considerations. The urge to evangelization was the driving force behind those Protestants who were religious men and who voluntarily got together for religious purposes, to form religious organizations:

This was the prime motivation behind Anglican, Methodist, Baptist, and Congregational missionaries going to the West Indies.

Conclusion

The urge to evangelization came from the Arminian belief of universal salvation which manifested itself in missionary societies. Four London based Protestant Societies representing Independent, Baptist, Methodist and Anglican interests sent missionaries to convert West Indian slaves to various areas in the Caribbean including Antigua, Jamaica and British Guiana. These men were moved primarily by religious and not psycho-sociological reasons as their low social status, the inadequate salaries, the inhospital reception and the general physical and natural hardships indicate. They came mainly from the ranks of the lower middle class and did not significantly change their social status during slavery.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

[1] W. N. Gunson, Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas (Ph. D. Thesis, Canberra University, unpublished) LMSA. Pp. 33-34.

[2] According to Gunson, "Like most intermediary classes, it required a lower class which acted alternately as recruiting ground and place of contrast." Ibid., p. 16.

[3] Gunson argues that, "The average Evangelical missionary was in the process of establishing himself more securely in the social class towards which his sympathies were directed." Ibid., p. 318.

[4] William Carey, An Enquiry Into the Obligations of Christians (London, 1792). Carey acknowledged he had been influenced by Andrew Fuller's sermons and Robert Hall's Health to Zion's Travellers (London, 1781).

[5] Account of the Proceedings of the BMS. (1794) : 35.

[6] John Clark, Memorials of the Baptist Missionaries in Jamaica Including A Sketch of the Labours of Early Religious Instructors in Jamaica (London, 1869).

[7] An Account of the Proceedings of the BMS., October 2, 1792, Book 1, 1792-1798, p. 1, BMSA. Further details are in Ernest A. Payne, "Some Samuel Pearce Documents," Baptist Quarterly 18 (1959):26-34; Rev. F. A. Cox The History of the BMS From 1792-1842, 2 Volumes (London, 1842), and John Brown Myers, Centenary of the BMS., (London, 1892).

[8] George Liele came from Virginia and was sometimes also known as George Sharp, after his owner who freed him. He came to Jamaica as an indentured servant and was preaching as a deacon in 1784 at Kingston. Mr. Coultart wrote that he was, in 1822, "blind" and "neither superstitious nor enthusiastic . . . has much good sense, speaks scripturally and with much feeling." The Baptist Annual Register (1790-1793): 332-339 and (1793), pp. 541 and 542. Also Missionary Herald 38 (February 1822): 15.

[9] Materials and letters on John Rowe collected by A. de Chesterton, are found in W1/5, BMSA. Mr. Vaughan, a planter who requested a Baptist missionary, is mentioned in the minutes of the

BMS for October 6, 1819. An Account of the Proceedings of the BMS. 3 (1815-20): 85.

[10] Mr. Le Compere was "disconnected" in 1817 although it is sometimes presumed he died in that year. A letter from him, written on January 8, 1817, Kingston, is in Periodical Accounts Relative to the BMS, 6 (1817): 175. He left Jamaica "on account of many acts of imprudence," (probably of a political nature). Committee Meeting, Oxford, September 30, 1817, An Account of the Proceedings of the BMS, 3 (1815-1820): 36. Coultart and his wife were reported as having gone to Jamaica in the minutes of the BMS for October 13, 1819. Ibid., p. 90. BMSA.

[11] William F. Burchell, Memoir of Thomas Burchell, Twenty Two Years a Missionary in Jamaica By His Brother (London, 1849); John Howard Hinton, Memoir of William Knibb - Missionary in Jamaica (London, 1847); Edward Bean Underhill, Life of James Mursell Phillippo, Missionary in Jamaica (London, 1881); James M. Phillippo, Jamaica: Its Past and Present State (London, 1843) and An Appeal to the Friends of Education On Behalf of Schools in Jamaica Under the Direction of James M. Phillippo (Norwich, 1842); John Clark, W. Dendy and J. M. Phillippo, The Voice of Jubilee: A Narrative of the Baptist Mission in Jamaica From Its Commencement With Biographical Notes of Its Fathers and Founders (London, 1865), p. 41.

[12] Annual Report of the BMS, 1831, p. 18; Summary View of the BMS (Corrected July 1829) in Annual Report of the Committee of the B.M.S., Thursday, June 18, 1829, W1/5 BMSA, and A Narrative of Recent Events . . . P. 25.

[13] A Narrative of Recent Events Connected With The Baptist Mission In This Island Comprising Also A Sketch Of The Mission From Its Commencement, In 1814, To The End Of 1831 By The Baptist Missionaries (Jamaica, 1833); Philip Wright, Knibb 'The Notorious' - Slaves Missionary, 1803-1845 (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1973).

[14] Richard Lovett, The History of the LMS 1795-1895, 2 Volumes (London: Henry Frowde, 1899), 1:3-42. Lovett describes Bogue's activities in pp. 6-10. C. Silvester Horne, The Story of the LMS 1795-1895 (London: John Snow and Co., 1895), pp. 3-22.

[15] Lovett, p. 30.

[16] John Griffin, A Retrospect of the Proceedings of the LMS Being the Substance of a Discourse Delivered at the Instance of the Directors on the Morning of October 10, 1826, At Noxon Chapel on the Opening of the Mission College. (Portsea, 1827), p. 17.

[17] John Morison, The Fathers and Founders of the L. M. S.; With a Brief Sketch of Methodism and Historical Notices of the Several Protestant Missions From 1556-1839 (London, 1840). Morison claims that calvinist Methodists mainly supported the LMS whereas many congregational ministers rejected the fundamental principle of unity and "stood aloof."

[18] Quoted in Lovett, pp. 49-50. The following also discuss the fundamental principle. The Quarterly Chronicle of Transactions of the L. M. S. 1815-1826 1 (London, 1827); A Summary of the Transactions of the Missionary Society From Its Institution, 1795 (London, 1812); Reports of the Missionary Society From Its Formation in the Year 1795 to 1814 Inclusive (London, 1814); Reports of the LMS (1798) and (1808); Irene M. Fletche "The Fundamental Principle of the L. M. S." Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society (1962-63): 138-146, 192-198, and 222-229.

[19] The Eclectic Review 12 (July-December 1842): 78-102.

[20] Lovett, p. 60.

[21] Report of LMS (1798), quoted in Lovett, p. 315.

[22] Report of LMS (1808). Ibid.

[23] British Guiana consisted of three crown colonies, Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo. In 1787 Essequibo and Demerara were united under one Court of Policy and Britain purchased the colonies from Holland by 1815. In 1831 local consent secured the union of the three colonies in a single administration of British Guiana. J. H. Parry and P. M. Sherlock, A Short History of the West Indies (London: MacMillan and Co., 1963), pp. 152-184 and 245-247.

[24] Wray to Directors, Box 1 Br. G/D. (1807-14), LMSA.

[25] John Owen Whitehouse, A Register of Missionaries and Deputations From 1796 to 1877 (London, 1877). Items 107 and 108.

[26] Governor Murray said, "It is evident that this mischief was plotted at the Bethel Chapel on Mr. Post's Estate, that the leaders are the Chief men of that chapel, that the Parson could not have been ignorant of some such project ...." Smith had been sentenced to hang but was granted mercy. Murray to Lord Bathurst, August 24, 1823, "Missionary Smith's Case," No. 51, CO. 111:53, PRO pp. 10-12.

The following all contain further reference to Smith. "Copy of a Journal Containing Various Occurences at Le Resouvenier, Demerara," CO. 111:46 and "Proceedings of a General Court Martial Against John Smith of the L. M. S." CO. 111:42, PRO. The Colonist, October 27, 1823, p. 2, January 1, 1824, p. 3, and October 13, 1823, p. 2. The Guiana Chronicle and Demerara Gazette, May 3, 1824, p. 3, April 30, 1824, p. 2, February 27, 1824, p. 1, February 16, 1824, pp. 2-3 and March 1, 1824, p. 3.

Smith's case was publicized in the following British papers of 1824. John Bull, January 26, 1824, p. 36; The Norwich Mercury, June 14, 1824, p. 2; The New Times, April 17, 1824, p. 1; and The Morning Chronicle, June 3, 1824, p. 1.

[27] J. A. Pratt (editor), Eclectic Notes; or Notes of Discussions on Religious Topics at the Meetings of the Eclectic Society, London, During the Years 1798-1804 (London, 1856).

[28] John H. Overton and Frederic Relton, The English Church . . . 1814-1800 (London: MacMillan & Co., 1906), p. 340; and The CMS - A Manual Outlining Its History, Organization, and Commitments (London: CMS, 1961).

[29] Eugene Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, 3 Volumes, (London, 1899), 1:61-80.

[30] Rules of the CMS, April 12, 1799, and Summary View of the Designs and Proceedings of the Society to Africa and the East (London, 1812).

[31] The CMS - A Manual, p. 10.

[32] Ibid., pp. 10-13.

[33] This observation is in A Defence of the C. M. S. Against the Objections of the Rev. Josiah Thomas, M. A. Archdeacon of Bath (London, 1818); An Answer to the Rev. R. Forby's Short Notices on Slight Cavils by the Rev. George Glover, Rector of South Ripps, Vicar of Cramer and Chaplain to the Most Noble, The Marquis of Buckingham (Norwich: n. d.), and Memorial of the Committee of the C. M. S. to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury (London, 1830).

[34] Summary View of the Designs and Proceedings of the Society For Missions To Africa and the East (London: 1812), p. 12.

[35] Ibid., pp. 9-13.

[36] The government grants were given to the CMS and the Conversion Society alike.

[37] Proceedings of the CMS For Africa and the East, 7, (1818-1819): IX and 207. Pratt to Dawes, September 18, 1820, Outgoing Letters, L-1 (1820-34), CMSA.

[38] "After Bishops Ryder and Bathurst joined the Society, they ordained men at the Committee's request . . . Archbishop Harcourt, of York, did the same on two or three occasions. But an arrangement like this could only be provisional. However, the difficulty was solved in 1819 by an Act of Parliament called the Colonial Service Act, which gave the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishop of London power to ordain men." Eugene Stock, 1:245.

The Act of the 2nd July, 1819, permitting the bishops "for the time being to admit persons into Holy Orders especially for the Colonies" said "that no person so admitted . . . shall be capable of having, holding, or enjoying, or being admitted to any parsonage, vicarage, benefice, or other ecclesiastical promotion or dignity whatsoever, within the U. K. or Great Britain and Ireland, or of acting as Curate therein, without the previous consent and approbation, in writing of the Bishop of the Diocese" . . . and will be "neither capable of officiating in any Church or Chapel in England or Ireland without special permission." Proceedings of the CMS For Africa and the East, (1818-1819), 1, pp. 225-226.

[39] With 786 scholars out of a 322,411 total slave population according to the census returns, the CMS can hardly be considered as very effectual. Proceedings of the CMS (1825-33); Outgoing Letters, L-1, September 13, 1820 - September 4, 1834; Returns of Schools Supported by the CMS Under the Management of Their Agent and Director of Schools in the West Indies, Antigua, October 24, 1823, CW/04/1/1; Archdeacon T. Parry to E. Bickersteth, March 2, 1827, CW/04/1/6, CMSA; and The Antigua Free Press, June 11, 1828.

[40] N. Allen Birtwhistle, "Founded in 1786: The Origins of the Methodist Missionary Society," Proceedings of the Wesleyan Historical Society 30 (June 1955): 25-29. G. G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth, The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (London: WMMS, 1921), discuss the society's beginnings.

[41] Coke's suggestions on matters of missionary organization can be found in two works; Thomas Coke, Plan for the Establishment of Missions Among the Heathen (London, 1784) and An Address to the Pious and Benevolent Proposing an Annual Subscription for the Support of Missionaries in the Highlands and Adjacent Islands of Scotland, the Isles of Jersey, Geurnsey, and Newfoundland, the West Indies, and the Provinces of Nova Scotia and Quebec. (London, 1786).

[42] Birtwhistle, p. 28.

[43] Anon., Statement of the Plan, Objects, and Effects of the Wesleyan Missions in the West Indies (London, 1824); The Minutes of Conference (1790) referred for the first time to the management of "West Indian Affairs." Pp. 17-20.

[44] Mrs. Flanigan, Antigua and the Antiguans, Vol. 1 (London: 1844) pp. 247 and passim. Reverend John Horsford, A Voice From the West Indies (London, 1856), pp. 81-136, 183-217.

[45] An Authentic Report of the Debate in the House of Commons, June 23, 1825, on Mr. Buxton's Motion Relative to the Demolition of the Methodist Chapel and Mission House in Barbadoes and the Expulsion of Mr. Shrewbury, a Wesleyan Missionary From That Island (London, 1825).

[46] Rev. Peter Duncan, A Narrative of the Wesleyan Mission to Jamaica With Occasional Remarks on the State of Society in That Colony (London, 1849), pp. 163-166.

[47] The Kingston meeting was held on the 6th September, 1824, and its resolutions published in Jamaica Royal Gazette. The resolutions included a denial of "misrepresentations" of methodist missionaries, which said:

> (1) That they believe slavery to be incompatible with the Christian Religion, (2) That their doctrines are calculated to produce insubordination among the slaves, (3) That they are secretly attempting to put in operation means to effect the Emancipation of the slaves, (4) That they are connected with and correspond with the members of the African Institution, (5) That they are the most decided (although disguised) enemies of the West Indian colonies, (6) And are enriching themselves by extorting money from the Slaves.

Their answers to these charges were an embarrassment to the WMMS at home and missionaries in the West Indies from other societies. They included in their denial the belief that Christianity and slavery were compatible, that the "design of the Emancipists" if carried into effect would "be a general" calamity, that they had no connection with the African Institution and that generally the doctrines taught were the very opposite to inciting rebellion or discontent. Details of these resolutions may be found in Alexander Barclay, Slavery in the West Indies (London, 1828), pp. 472-478.

[48] 16th March, 1824, Book 3, Meetings of the Committee of the WMMS, December 1822-July, 1829, pp. 147-151 and 283-297.

[49] Minutes of Conference, 90, Manchester, (July 1833), pp. 266-276. Enclosure 10, Item 172, "State of Persons in Connexion with the Wesleyan Methodists," and Enclosure 11, "An account of

the Number and State of the Wesleyan Sunday Schools In Antigua," December 31, 1832, gives 1,852 slaves exclusive of 40 free; and gives 14 such schools and 610 infants on 28 estates, 1,000 children attended out-of-crop, and the noon and evening schools. CO. 7:36 PRO.

[50] Max Warren, Social History and Christian Mission (London: SCM Press, 1967), p. 51.

[51] The Proceedings of the CMS on Tuesday, 28th October, 1817, on Occasion of the Departure of Missionaries to West Africa, The Mediterranean, Madras, Travancore, and Ceylon, (1817), p. 25.

[52] William Law, "A Serious Call to A Devout and Holy Life," first articulated this phrase which was to become a derogatory term. Quoted in Max Warren, Missionary Movement From Britain in Modern History (London: SCM Press, 1965), p. 32.

[53] Lovett, p. 319.

[54] Statement of the Plan . . . p. 7.

[55] Candidates Papers (1835-37), Questions 1-218, LMSA.

[56] Dr. John Ryland, principal of the Baptist Academy, wrote about young William Knibb that he rather questioned "his capacity for learning a new language. He is a good printer, and I conceive would have talents for preaching far from contemptible. But I think he would be more suitable for the West Indies than the East." Quoted in Wright, p. 18.

[57] William F. Burchell, p. 33.

[58] Statement of the Plan, p. 7.

[59] Since the author only saw Wesleyan correspondence from Antigua, generalization for any other time period or more islands cannot be made.

[60] Gunson asserts they aspired to enter the "greater middle class" and they substituted the "poor heathen, for the lower orders." Gunson, pp. 318 and 16.

[61] In 1832 Dandeson Coates wrote to Rev. Leonard Strong in Demerara asking whether he thought the Bishop of Barbadoes saw

this 200 as binding under the 13th Canon of the "Letters Patent Constituting the Bishoprics of Jamaica and Barbadoes," 22nd August, 1832, L-1 (1820-34), p. 223, CMSA.

[62] J. B. Ellis, *The Diocese of Jamaica* (London: SPCK, 1913), p. 66.

[63] By 1833 the Bishop insisted on £300 per annum, either in answer to the predicted inflation after Emancipation, or to discourage CMS exertion in Jamaica. Stainsby to Coates, 16th March, 1829, and 17th October, 1833, CW/079/66 and CW/079/14c, CMSA. In 1831 Lord Goderich was intervening with the Bishop of Jamaica and in 1833 the Archbishop of Canterbury asked him to reconsider his stipulation. Whitehorne to Coates, 19th March, 1831, CW/L1 (1820-34), p. 201 and *CMS Memorial*, November 29th, 1833, pp. 228-229, CMSA.

[64] Stainsby to Coates, 10th March, 1831, CW/079/10, CMSA.

[65] Taylor to Secretaries, July 1, 1828, CW/083/22, CMSA.

[66] Armstrong to Coates, January 27, 1829, CW/014/1-49, CMSA.

[67] Simpson to CMS, January 21, 1828, CW/081/1, CMSA.

[68] William Dawes was CMS Superintendent in Antigua with a salary of £300 st. per annum. By contrast Robert Keane, a creole teacher of little qualification received nine shillings per week for four visits weekly. Presumedly he could have another occupation as well. But even Dawes was receiving less than a curate in the Established Church in the West Indies. Dawes was probably independently well off and was not a missionary in the usual sense of the word but a CMS "agent" in Antigua. Dawes to Secretaries, July 31, 1820, MI (1814-27), pp. 35-41, and December 17, 182, p. 152, CMSA.

[69] Wray to Burder, October 7, 1820 and January 20, 1820, Box 1A, Br.G/D (1813-22) LMSA.

[70] *A Statement of the Committee of the BMS* (London, 1807), advised missionaries not to engage in "service or secular employment" unless for their own immediate support or "affairs of government and trade," pp. 4-5. *The Methodist Statement of the Plan*, Instruction 9, stipulated the missionaries were "not to follow a trade."

[71] Rowe to Ryland, May 27, 1814, Box W1/5, BMSA.

[72] Statement of the Plan, p. 21 and Instructions to Joshua Wood, November 1828, L-1 (1820-34), p. 130, CMSA.

[73] Whitehouse to Secretaries, February 14, 1823, Item 5, West Indies Box 1823, WMMSA.

[74] The Commissioners included Zachary Macaulay, James Stephen, and William Wilberforce!

[75] For example, Joshua Wood of Coley Estate received £50. 10. 0d. from the CMS; the rest of his expenses being made up by the proprietor. Bickersteth to Taylor, October 31, 1828, L-1 (1820-28) p. 119, CMSA.

[76] Wray to Hodson, March 9, 1819, Box 1A and Wray to Burder, October 7, 1820, Br. G/B (1814-20) LMSA.

[77] Jones to Coates, March 6, 1827, CW/051/14 and to Bickersteth, July 26, 1827, CW/051/16, CMSA.

[78] Manning to Coates, March 28, 1829, CW/05/64, CMSA.

[79] Taylor to Secretaries, May 4, 1826, CW/083/7, May 29, 1826, CW/083/8, June 27, 1826, CW/083/9, and November 1, 1826, CW/083/13, CMSA.

[80] Wray to Burder, January 15, 1822, Box 1A, Br. G/B (1813-22) LMSA.

[81] The LMS missionaries especially suffered financial deprivation which caused great anxiety. Wray asked how the advice that they should "chiefly support themselves" be achieved if they were also to "preach the gospel." Wray to Directors, February 4, 1809, Box 1, Br. G/D (1807-14) LMSA.

[82] Davies had been naive enough to honestly report he had purchased beef, chocolates, ham, cheese and butter. The Directors were outraged by his dietary extravagences! Directors to Davies, March 6 - Box 1, Br. G/D (1807-14) LMSA.

[83] March 20, 1834, Box 2, Br. G/B, LMSA.

[84] Wright, p. 33.

[85] The average income by 1800 for Curates in England was between £56 and £60. As late as 1830 a parliamentary paper records that of 4,254 curates 1,631 received less than £60, although the Act of 1796 stated as maximum £75 plus the use of a parsonage or an additional £15. In 1813 the new Curates Act stipulated £80 but in large wealthy livings, £150. A. Tindal Hart, The Curates Lot (London: John Baker Ltd., 1970), pp. 108-109 and 128. A British and Foreign School Society headmaster received £70 per annum while a mistress received £40 per annum. Henry Bryan Binns, A Century of Education - Being the Centenary History of the BFSS, 1808-1908 (London: John Dent, 1908), p. 138.

[86] Smith to Langton, October 14, 1816, Box 2, Br.G/D (1815-22) LMSA.

[87] Wray to Governor Beard, September 3, 1823, Box 1B, Br.G/B (1823-26) LMSA.

The LMS missionaries wrote constantly and prolifically in the first years of their mission due to culture shock and isolation; these often led to chronic depression. Even in 1830 the delay between Society response to missionary letters could amount to one and a half years. Wray to Hankey, March 26, 1830, Box 2, Br.G/B (1827-34), LMSA. A Methodist, Samuel Brown, leaped from a window crying "Murder! Murder!" He was duly certified insane. Items 18, April 2, 1823 and Item 34, April 11, 1823, to the Secretaries from the missionary leaders and stewards, West Indies Box 1823, WMMSA.

[88] John Clark, W. Dendy, and J. M. Phillippo, p. 41.

[89] Warren, The Missionary Movement . . . p. 44, and Lovett, 1:71.

[90] Richard Dunn, Sugar and Slaves (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Free Press, 1972), pp. 300-334.

[91] An address in 1827 stressed to "Go Forth" command and the love for the Redeemer as prime motivations, but added there could result benefits of commerce. More importantly, it stressed a renewal of piety in Britain would result from examples of the consecrated missionary life. Observations on the Motives and Encouragements to Active Missionary Exertions: Being the Substance of an Address Read Before the Edinburgh Association of Theological Students in Aid of the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge (Edinburgh, 1827).

[92] Proceedings of the CMS (October 28, 1817): 25.

[93] Max Warren examines the motives presented by a work of Johannes Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus's Love . . . (1956). These motives included humanitarianism, cultural, ascetic, romantic, theocentric, debts, love and compassion, eschatological and ecclesiological. Warren, Missionary Movement, pp. 45-58.

[94] John Griffin, pp. 30-31.

[95] Lovett, p. 70.

[96] Ibid., p. 71.

[97] Lovett, p. 70.

PART II

SLAVERY

Let all who are under the yoke of slavery regard their masters as worthy of all honour.

I Timothy 6:1.

Slavery and Knowledge are incompatible.

Attorney to Henry Whiteley (1833).

Oh massa, religion no bad ting — if your neger love God in him heart, he find something else to do than tief your fowl and your sugar, religion is a good ting when neger hab plenty of it.

Negro Woman to Missionary (1821).

CHAPTER IV

MISSIONARY SCHOOLING AND THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF SLAVES

Introduction

Having arrived in the various West Indian islands the men who were to make slaves aware of their need of salvation found themselves in inhospitable and alien circumstances. There were no schoolhouses, little equipment, and all too often only an occasional invitation to preach or teach the slaves of plantation owners. An invitation to do so was crucial and highlights the delicate situation of attempting to save and educate another man's "property." Those missionaries who came to an estate on the invitation of a planter, attorney, or manager, considered themselves fortunate. The actual setting up of schools, their variety and number and the activities within them, demonstrated considerable diversity. They retained however, the homogeneous nature of the missionary enterprise, the main purpose of which remained always to preach the gospel.

Missionary Schools

The setting up of schools was frequently an irksome process which required skill at organization and fund raising. Funds were never plentiful and the main source of contribution was Britain. Donations from slaves were sometimes used by virulent opponents of the setting up of schools as evidence of missionaries being rogues and charlatans. Such accusations were unfounded and mischievous. A letter to a West Indian governor sums up the absurdity of the accusations rather pithily. He commented, "The slaves . . . are too intelligent in money matters to do injury to themselves, even for the cause of religion."[1] This makes perfect sense if we remember how precious the few pounds slaves owned were. They were earned after the strenuous hours of bonded labour through the additional selling of produce, stock, and crafts, at Sunday markets.

Some missionaries rented houses and vacant buildings while raising the necessary mortgages to purchase land or build premises. Where chapels were available either by purchase, donation, or on invitation to use an appropriate building as one, these were doubled up as school rooms. Sometimes the only available places for worship or instruction were unsuitable edifices used for plantation tasks such as curing, or housing the sick. When a planter donated either funds or buildings for the religious instruction of his slaves or for Sunday worship his interest in his property could cause both inhibition on the part of the missionary and some control over what was to be taught. Planters normally encouraged a surfeit of religious principle and an absence of reading and writing.

The schools, therefore, were predominately religious in character for, as was observed by the Secretary of the WMMS, Richard Watson, "the prejudice against schools [is] much stronger than against preaching."[2] He pointed out that if the general public's attitude toward education was one of opposition how much more this was to be expected in the sugar colonies. The planters, he noted, recognized that "knowledge was power" and could not "conceive how this power can be communicated to the blacks without endangering themselves."[3]

A few schools, such as that of the Baptist, James Mursell Phillippo in Spanish Town, Jamaica, were not strictly religious. Indeed Phillippo's school was not strictly speaking a missionary school. This enterprising missionary advertised it as a private school with the pragmatic intention that its fees would help finance a missionary school for slaves and the poor. His school offered an elementary education comprising of classic and literary branches including Latin, Hebrew and Greek. Somewhat ironically, thirty of its pupils were Jewish. Its syllabus was sufficiently liberal for a colony with few educational opportunities of any sort and attracted between 140 and 200 pupils. Two years later he opened his public school presumedly financed with the profits of his previous venture plus funds from England. It was organized on the Lancasterian system with gratuitous instruction for the poor. It was doomed to fail, however, because of the general unreceptiveness towards its non-racial and non-social class character. West Indian society was not ready for the mixing of white and coloured, slave and free. A Sunday School started by Phillippo, who clearly was as much a pedagogue as a preacher, was popular enough to receive fees of between £1.4/- to £4.16/- per annum from thirty-eight of its eighty children.[4]

Phillippo's school experiments were more innovative than those of his Baptist predecessors. John Rowe, for example the first

European Baptist Missionary who opened a school for "poor children" in 1814 in Montego Bay, found that frugal means limited the scope of his operation. Lee Compere was invited in 1816 to open a chapel and school on the "Whim Estate" in St. Dorothy's Parish but moved to Kingston soon thereafter, presumedly because of his political views or his uncompromising attitudes toward teaching reading. James Coultart began chapels in Ocho Rios and St. Anne's and was using both as schoolhouses by 1818. By 1833 the Baptists had chapels, schools, and sub-stations in many coastal towns and certainly in all the main towns such as Kingston, Spanish Town, Montego Bay, Falmouth and Port Royal.

The Wesleyans in Antigua tended less to build separate schools distinct from chapels. Until 1818 schooling was conducted as part of their system of bands and classes for mutual instruction primarily in scriptural content. They received financial aid from the WMMS and the CMS to support the English Harbour Sunday School Society which conducted schools in English Harbour, St. John's and Parham. The small island was liberally populated with members in Wesleyan society and Sunday schools proliferated throughout the island. Preachers visited various estates on working days and in the evenings. Chapels were situated in strategic areas and drew upon many estates. For example, "Hope Chapel" in Bridgetown drew upon approximately sixteen estates while "Bethesda" on Blake's Estate in the Willoughby Bay Division drew upon approximately ten estates.[5]

In contrast to the populous Wesleyans of Antigua, the strong and influential Baptists of Jamaica, the LMS during slavery had few schools and chapels in Berbice and Demerara. Georgetown, Demerara, and Le Resouvenir Chapel were the strongest and it was not until the late twenties with John Wray entering the field that the LMS gained inroads into Berbice.

Most of the schools existed precariously. They enjoyed only sporadic attendance. Many slaves were not permitted to attend or were able to attend only on Sundays or for an hour or so in the evening if the missionary visited them. The Sunday schools too were not well attended. On many Sundays during the year, particularly at crop time the slaves were required to labour. Moreover, many slaves were disinclined to attend because Sunday was their only free time for the cultivation of their own small plots of land. Evening schools, Sunday schools, and field schools rather than day schools were the more common means to religious instruction.

Missionaries however, sought permission to visit slaves on a regular basis on the surrounding estates on sabbath days or during the week. They conducted "schools" — in the loosest sense of the word — in huts, fields, under trees, or in makeshift shelters. The activities that occurred in these "schools" consisted of listening to the "Word" and reciting the catechism, developing personal relationships, singing hymns, receiving scripture lessons with visual materials such as pictures and the use of didactic narrative.

Goals of Missionary Schooling

The saving of souls was the main goal of missionary schooling. Other aims, such as preparing the slave for freedom and maintaining social order, which was explicitly pointed out to be the direct result of saving souls, were actually subsumed under the major goal. The christianizing of slaves was to consist of making them realize not only that nominal Christianity was not sufficient but that the devotion to religious duties because of a personal admiration for a particular missionary was not sufficient either.[6] It was on the point of "True" Christianity that all missionaries agreed and it was on this same issue that interdenominational disputes arose. If the various societies kept a watchful eye over the admission of slaves into full membership of their own churches they were doubly vigilant over the practices of other churches. Rigid rules of admission and expulsion[7] were adhered to and cries for shame resounded if token belief appeared pervasive. As early as 1795 the "Instructions for Missionaries to the West India Islands" issued by the SPG stressed that the "great point must be to make the negroes . . . not merely nominal but real Christians."[8] Providing the slaves with religious knowledge was seen as the best way to prepare them for freedom with as little social or political upheaval as possible.

Social order was not only a result of christianizing; it was in a sense a discrete goal in itself, secondary only to the major tasks of saving souls. Too many direct references are made by missionaries in their correspondence to argue otherwise. The maintenance of social order was necessary if they were to remain as guests in colonies governed by power groups hostile to their activities. Thomas Hyde is representative of the missionary desire not to draw undue attention to themselves. In 1821, this Wesleyan missionary requested that one of his sermons be published "to show our opponents that the negroes are taught nothing in the methodist Chapels but what is calculated to promote the interests of the owners as well as the slaves."[9] Hyde was merely re-iterating the observations made in 1808 by Thomas Coke, the father of the West Indian Mission. Coke had observed that the planters had at first feared Christianity would "render the slaves . . . worse servants by inspiring them with higher notions of themselves." He had added with a strange pride that "the very reverse has been experienced."[10] The planter suspicion was rooted in the same class consciousness found in Britain.[11]

The missionary societies disagreed that christian slaves would have "higher notions of themselves." Thus, the slaves on Blake's Estate attending Bethesda School in Antigua, it seems, were according to the methodist missionaries there "free of vice and foppery;" indeed religious knowledge was intended to evince in them a "humble and subordinate carriage" and "contentment of their stations."[12] William Dawes of the CMS insisted that missionary instruction was "a means of teaching the ignorant poor, especially the children to read the holy scriptures . . . as might . . . make them good Christians and of course useful members of Society, in their humble stations."[13] Dawes was not voicing a different opinion to the official one clearly stated by the CMS missionaries, which was that missionary instruction was to "render the slaves diligent, faithful, patient, and useful servants . . . the most valuable slaves on the estate."[14]

Extracts from the correspondence of the missionaries suggests that not only was maintaining social order a discrete goal but that some of the planters themselves believed the missionaries were meeting with some success in this area. One gratified planter told a Wesleyan missionary in Jamaica that he seldom went into the field since his negroes "became religious," that he now procured "more work" and had no further need to "employ a driver."[15] It is doubtful that such universal contentment was the result of missionary instruction, even though a former West Indian rector stated that the need for corporal punishment was "happily precluded" alongside christianization.[16] W. W. Rawlings, a member of the St. Kitts Assembly, was reputed to have said in 1818 through a WMMS publication that of his 400 or so slaves, "those that are in the methodist society are by far the most decent and respectable."[17]

There is no evidence that missionaries, even among the more militant Baptists, disagreed with the fundamental hope that religious instruction would produce "uniform obedience" in slaves.[18] Even when missionaries began to agitage against slavery, it was against the abuses of the system and the manner in which it militated against them as teachers. Social order was necessary in a free or slave society and could be maintained by inculcating certain cardinal virtues. Civil order it was believed was necessarily bound to moral order and moral order was best served by religious principles. These principles included honesty, truth-telling, industry, sobriety, chastity, conjugal fidelity and obedience. Conversely, social order would deteriorate if certain cardinal vices such as idling, lying, obstinacy, stealing, sabbath breaking and disobedience were allowed.[19]

Social order consisted of obedience to laws both of those in authority and God. The goals of missionary schooling were to exemplify the cardinal virtues and eradicate all vices. John Wray insisted that missionary schooling ought to teach the slaves that loving and obeying God were the same.

> When they say my duty to God is to love him I ask do those love God who take his name in vain? I use it on every trifling occasion. Do those love God who break the sabbath and steal etc.? Do not those that love God pray to him and do the things he tells them to? 20

At no time did missionaries suggest that God told his people things which were contrary to moral and social order. John Wray also made explicit the idea that christianizing was the major goal and, from this, the maintenance of social order inevitably followed. Furthermore, the slaves would have an adequate preparation for freedom. Such readiness could only be expected after a thorough and systematic grounding in religious knowledge. With the salvation of souls would come their preparation for a new civil order based on morality and true Christianity.

> A religious education only can prepare the negroes for a state of freedom and the general diffusion of christianity and good laws encouraging industry and manumissions will accomplish great things in a few years. 21

However it must be noted that none of the aforementioned goals could occur without the introduction of systematic and organized teaching methods and a discriminate selection of content. The missionaries, it must be remembered, were as much pedagogues as they were preachers. The primacy of christianization and religious instruction must go unquestioned, But the question which logically follows relates to the methods of transmission. The means to the most effectual learning of such knowledge was through writing and reading. It was in relation to this matter of teaching literacy skills that most of the pedagogical problems of pre-emancipation missionary schooling related.

Methods of Instruction

The customary reluctance of planters to have their slaves instructed in reading and writing was best expressed by Governor Murray of Berbice in 1831. He refused to permit reading because he feared the pernicious influence of "bad books" on the minds of slaves. John Wray assured him that "good books" would "instill good principles" and that slaves learned no more vice from bad books than in everyday living or by "listening to the white population" at table. As for the Governor's suspicion of learning to write, surely verbal communication was less likely to be intercepted than a letter in a post office with a definite address on it.[22]

Wray further insisted that, although the Governor argued rebellion would be more easily incited through such abilities, this was never the intention of missionary instruction. The Governor however was recalcitrant. Another missionary observed, "If they would read nothing but good books then he should have no objection."[23]

The following conversation between a Virginian constable and a Justice of the Peace was typical of the situation in the West Indies although it was reported in an American slave colony. It is particularly pertinent to an understanding of the number of harrassing disturbances which occurred when missionaries met slaves to instruct them and of the virulent press connecting missionary schooling and reading with conspiracies and rebellion. These occurred frequently in Jamaica. They reached paranoic proportions in 1823 in British Guiana during a slave rebellion which the missionary John Smith was accused of instigating. The conversation merely reflects the anxiety of all slave colonies about the anomalies of slave education. The Constable concerned was protesting that some slaves were learning to read and surely this was unlawful.

> Justice: I am not so clear that that is an unlawful purpose provided that is their real object. Do they disturb the neighborhood?
> Constable: No other ways sir, that I hear of but by learning to read. But will not that disturb the neighborhood?
> Justice: I can't see that it will, unless they read unseasonably loud.
> Constable: As for that they are very still about it. And that convinces me that they will be plotting some mischief 24

The planters' reluctance on the matter of reading was based on the assumption that missionaries were reluctant to concede - that knowledge and slavery are incompatible.[25] The planters knew that just as the whip was indispensable to slavery so also was ignorance indispensable to subservience. They did not doubt that "knowledge is power."[26] The incompatability of the slaves having knowledge obtained by reading and writing was a central problem to chattel slavery itself. The insistence of catechizing and oral instruction and the prohibition of literary instruction were manifestations of the deep seated fears of an informed slave population which led to such extrinsic constraints as supervised and circumscribed instruction on the estates and in the schools. These extrinsic constraints often impeded effective christianization.

"True believers" however, despite restrictions, calumnies, and persecutions, are prone to overcome obstacles either by defiance or circumvention. The missionaries were no exception. Though managers and the Governor himself might be "adverse to reading," John Smith admitted that the missionaries taught it nevertheless — "by stealth."[27] The methods they employed were varied.

John Wray, an Independent in Berbice, was teaching reading according to the Lancasterian Plan as early as 1813.[28] Phillippo, a Baptist in Jamaica, had operated a day school since July 1825 and a Sunday school before that, which consisted of a mixture of the Lancasterian and National plans adapting the best features of both and including reading.[29] Hurst, a Wesleyan in Antigua, was requesting a printing press for Sunday school lessons on Lancaster's Plan in 1814,[30] and William Dawes, a few years later, protested that the CMS insistence on the National Plan was "objectionable" and his own teaching methods which included some reading were preferable.[31] One cannot suppose the above missionaries were exceptional cases. The evidence is consistent that the general approach was to view scriptural literacy as an imperative of protestantism and especially evangelical Christianity. Therefore they taught reading albeit in a clandestine fashion.

Few missionaries were openly defying the prohibitions merely playing them down. As early as 1810 John Davies was asking for a shipment of Murray Spellers,[32] and four years later for copperplates to teach the Langford System of Writing. The same missionary was also responsible for the first printing of materials in

Georgetown for teaching negroes and slaves. The materials consisted of detailed reading lessons.[33] Immediately before the Demerara Revolt, Wray was teaching 60 slave children out of a school of 84, bond and free, to read.[34]

The Wesleyans, usually anxious not to offend, were also disregarding the instructions. In 1829, at Willoughby Bay, Antigua, there were 662 scholars, with 136 slaves, and fifty-one slave children, the remainder being free. Of these, 36 slaves were teachers instructing 218 pupils in alphabet, 74 in first syllable words, and 83 in third syllable words.[35] Some ten years before, Mr. and Mrs. Thwaites had published extracts about "the patience and perseverance of the poor slaves in learning to read."[36] They exclaimed that the sight was "wonderful." The CMS Proceedings which reported this was public evidence for all to see including the planters. Another missionary, the Rev. Hope Waddell made the following comment. "The many voices of the little blackies resounded through the house at their lessons, and sometimes the incessant ABC shouted at the strength of their lungs was deafening."[37] In 1819 the BMS requisitioned two hundred copies of Watts Hymns, three hundred copies of Rippon's Selections, and scores of tracts from the Religious Tract Society for Jamaica.[38] One cannot suppose these quantities were ordered not to be read.

These are only a few of such examples of the inevitable circumvention of restrictions placed upon a group whose main object was to christianize the slaves and whose main method was dependent upon the very means forbidden them — the teaching of reading the scriptures. William Knibb expressed the missionary's dilemma under the circumstances. When he asked for books for "the little dears," having told his family in England of his Lancasterian school wherein 70 children read the bible and many could cypher and write, he added the following remark about reading. "This is an important object . . . for till the poor things are taught to read, little moral or religious improvement can be expected."[39]

Where reading and writing were taught by the CMS, often in contravention of prohibitory custom and regulations, Andrew Bell's methods (also known as the National System) were used. These were explicitly based on "the principles of the established church." The LMS and BMS used the Lancasterian method of instruction of the British and Foreign Schools Society (BFSS) which, unlike the National System, was non-sectarian in content. Prior to 1833, the WMMS primarily used its own church methods for both school and chapel.

Where reading and writing were avoided by missionaries who kept scrupulously to the letter of the law, or who were being rather too closely watched by slave owners, the means of instruction was oral, consisting primarily of catechizing.

The National (Madras) System

Bell's system was first devised in 1789 and was known as the Madras System of Education having been used first at the Military Male Orphan Asylum, in Madras, India. The system was "fitted to give a new character to society at large" [and] 'organized on principles of mutual instruction." It was adopted by the Established Church in England in 1798 at St. Botolph's Charity School in Aldgate, London.

The First Annual Report of "The National Society For Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church" stated as its aims in 1812,

> . . . the national religion should be made the foundation of national education . . . for if the great body of the nation be educated in other principles than those of the Established Church, the natural consequences must be to alienate the minds of the people from it, which may, in succeeding generations prove fatal to the Church, and to the State itself. 40

The ignorance of slaves, was, it seems, equally prejudicial to the "great body of the nation" and "the state itself" for the Church of England saw this system as suitable for them as well as for the British poor. Dr. Bell's aim was to "make good scholars, good men, and good Christians;"[41] Slaves presumably could be made into all three.

A monitorial system had as its main goal, to teach many pupils simultaneously by using the principles of mutual instruction. The more advanced students, having been trained by the master, therefore taught groups of less advanced students. To encourage industry and application a ticket system was devised signifying merits and demerits as well as some weekly prizes.[42] Monitorial systems operated on immediate reinforcement principles, competition, and individual pupil progress. Pupils were classified separately into subject areas and moved to a new group when they had mastered stipulated and sequenced materials in reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic.

The teaching of secular subjects in schools for the poor were not encouraged by the affluent of England itself who seemed to prefer the poor to be pious but not necessarily informed; so it should not come as a surprise that secular subjects were also discouraged by the planting class who preferred the slave obedient and not necessarily informed in literacy. As the missionaries themselves were there primarily to give religious instruction, it can be assumed that those who used the National System greatly modified it and probably emphasized those aspects of it which dealt with matters of religion.

The plan's timetable was carefully arranged "to guarantee employment" and to "considerably lessen the noise"[43] of simultaneous teaching. It had blocks of time set apart for table recitation, ciphering and writing. It can also be assumed that the uniform systematic instruction compelled by such a timetable was considerably modified in a missionary schoolroom in order to adapt to the peculiar circumstances of slave clients. What probably occurred under the name of the "National" system was that the missionaries used the appropriate supplies of materials, especially the catechisms, then trained their monitors, if not to read these materials, at least to memorize them in order to teach their fellow pupils. The National system under such conditions meant little more than a modified monitorial method although the stipulated requirements of this instruction were met in that it was probably carried out in short easy, sequential lessons. In addition, fair competition meant that each pupil would find his own level; and that pupils were divided into classes according to their abilities.[44]

There was a difference between CMS schools and dissenting schools, both in method and in content. The differences in content arose out of the major distinction between the National and Lancasterian systems, the latter having been devised by Joseph Lancaster on non-sectarian principles intended to satisfy and unify dissenting participants in the system. It shall be seen later that the non-sectarian principle led to slightly more diversity in subject matter and more provision for secular knowledge. The mechanical parts of both systems were in most ways not significantly different.[45]

In 1803 Joseph Lancaster had published his "Improvements in Education as it Respects the Industrious Class of the Community." A Society for promulgating his views was founded in 1811, called the Royal Lancasterian Institute, eventually known in 1813 as the British and Foreign School Society.[46] Lancaster's methods were diffused at a model school and teacher training institute in Borough Road, London. The training course was approximately three months duration and several missionaries, particularly of the BMS took such a training with them to the West Indies. The Borough Road school was so successful that the National Society set up a rival to it in London under the direction of Andrew Bell.[47]

The object of the BFSS was to provide scriptural education to the children of the poor on "unsectarian principles" because it firmly believed that "popular ignorance is a national calamity."[48] Its principles were as suited for the slave as for the manufacturing poor of England. Like the National System it was an education with a class bias so that the poor and likewise the slave might be made "respectable;" thus the middle classes who provided the education might be able to better "counteract" those "hurtful influences" to themselves and social order.[49] The BFSS stressed the interest the middle classes ought to have in educating the lower orders because the middle classes were, after all, so dependent upon the labour of the manufacturing poor.

In 1816, a BFSS manual said, "It is to their labour and skill that we owe our comforts and convenience; we have a deep interest in the state of their morals."[50] It almost goes without saying that slave owners were even more directly dependent upon slave labour for their "comforts and conveniences." However, slave owners, as has been pointed out, would more likely agree with the Mandevillian idea that "knowledge both enlarges and multiplies our desires" and that the working-poor's knowledge ought never to be "extended . . . beyond what relates to their calling."[51] With all their educational limitations, monitorial systems as interpreted by certain missionaries, were no more approved of by slave owners than Sunday school instruction was. And yet the success of monitorial systems was measured in terms of the child's acquiring obedience and uniformity so that every one should respond unquestioningly "to sit, stand, speak, or be silent on the instant of the command being given."[52]

It was not until 1829 that the Report of the BFSS referred to the West Indies having a separate subscription opened for it.[53] By this time the Baptist, William Knibb had a British school in Kingston, Jamaica, begun in 1825 and with 250 children under a plan "exactly resembling the Borough Road School" where he had himself been trained. The monitorial system he devised extended beyond the confines of the school, "for some of the children earned a few pence by teaching their elders in the evenings."[54] By 1831, another Baptist, James Phillippo, also requested funds and materials for his Spanish Town enterprise. The Society laid the request before the Society of Friends who had a fund set aside for "enslaved negroes and their descendents" and the BFSS obtained fifty pounds for Jamaica.[55] John Wray's name is also mentioned as having a British school in Berbice by 1831. By 1833, Charles Thwaites, a methodist superintendent of schools in Antigua had sent to him a supply of materials and apparatus for the British system.[56] Knibb's school was then under the supervision of Mr. Whitehorn with 182 children on the books and an average attendance of between 132 and 140.[57]

If slave owners objected to the missionary educating their slaves by the monitorial method their reactions to yet another method of instruction utilized by some missionaries can only be speculated upon. Astonishingly some missionaries prior to emancipation reported their use of "The Infant School System." Reports between 1831 and 1833 in British Guiana reveal a diffusion of the Infant method in that colony even before it had gained any significant impetus in Britain itself.

Mr. Lewis of the LMS in British Guiana had an Infant school of about eight children attending two days a week and he enthused that the "pictorial manner of teaching" was admirably "adapted to arrest the attention" of adults and children.[58] Another missionary in Demerara, Joseph Ketley, was asking his society for more infant equipment for he only had in his possession some pictures, a few arithmetic exercises, and reading lessons.[59] In 1833, his infant school had 150 children ranging from only 18 months to seven years.[60] James Scott wrote in that same year that he had found the infant method appropriate for his schools.[61]

That missionaries were using the system prior to emancipation is surprising on two counts. The first is that the Home and Colonial Infant School Society in England was not organized until 1836.[62] The 1824 Infant School Society set up for the poor of London did not have the impact as the later Society whose methods were Pestalozzian. Training programs of twelve weeks were provided by the Infant School Society before 1837 but this was quickly increased to six months.[63] The Home and Colonial Society established its training school at Holborn in 1836, and moved to Gray's Inn Road in 1843. After apprenticeship many missionaries or their wives received such training before embarking to the West Indies.

The second surprising feature is that the infant method itself was by nineteenth century standards a progressive one; indeed, much of its method remains in infant schools to this date. Pestalozzian principles used methods based on sense data, verbal and rhythmic repetition, physical play and manipulation, playground equipment, the practising of sounds, drawing and forming letters in order to read and write. The method began "from the actual experience of the child" because that was the point where his intellectual experience began, and the method intended lead him progressively "to the point where the instructor wishes him to be."[64]

Pestalozzian principles were in direct contravention to the methods used by the monitorial systems, as Charles Mayo, who systemized them for the Home and Colonial Society explained. The purpose of the method was not "to explain processes but to unfold principles." The pupil was not taught "to comprehend a rule" but "to form it for himself."[65] However, like the monitorial systems, the class bias behind the infant method was clear. To prevent the poor, who were full of "woe, wretchedness, and depravity" from contaminating "the more respectable class," it was essential to "implant right dispositions during infancy rather than correct bad habits" later on.[66] The children of the poor, and consequently the children of slaves were to be trained by the method in "order, docility, and natural kindness."[67]

Although some methods and portions of the monitorial and infant systems could have been used without including reading, all three methods did include the development of literacy skills. In relation to scriptural education, Lancaster, for example, thoroughly disapproved of "boys being required to learn whole chapters by rote."[68] He also rejected "mere parrot like repetitions, or religious instructions given and received with as little concern as attends the unthinking horse when he rushes to battle."[69] This did not mean that he rejected catechizing; he disapproved only of the methods by which it was so often conducted. He heartily endorsed J. Freame's Scriptural Instructions By Way of Question and Answer for the same reason that he endorsed Watt's first edition of hymns. Both could safely be used to convey sound scriptural meaning in a non-sectarian manner.[70] The method of religious instruction even by way of catechizing was to encourage students in their own interpretation.

However, Lancaster undoubtedly preferred reading as the best means of educating the poor. He rejected the notion that its acquisition would make them so "proud of their attainments" that they would no longer "submit to the drudgery to which they had been accustomed." Rather, their education and reading skills would render them "more tractable and less ferocious." He shrewdly asserted, "If everybody can read, no one will be more proud of reading than they are of walking now, when everybody can walk."[71]

Catechizing was thus not generally deemed a salutary method by sympathizers of the preceding three methods nor by missionaries generally. Nevertheless, under the prohibitory circumstances of a slave situation it was often resorted to as the most efficient means of transmitting religious knowledge.

As a teaching method, catechizing was probably viewed by missionaries as a "most ingenious device for training teachers to teach nothing."[72] It was, however, probably the only method the planters even remotely approved of to teach slaves. Catechizing proved all too often to be a "very laborious task;" answers it was discovered could be repeated "a hundred times over" before recall was established.[73] Wray doubted the efficacy of catechizing under these circumstances while another missionary, John Davies, complained that to the illiterate, numerous explanations were required.[74] Wray's licence was under "strict injunction" not to teach reading or writing and this was true for many of his brethren in the West Indies. For example, Barbadoes planters and clergy agreed as late as 1823 that the "instructions be strictly oral" in the Sunday schools.[75] Since

Sunday schools were often the only schools the implication can be drawn that all instruction to slaves was to be oral. As reading was forbidden, William Dawes of the CMS in Antigua could ruefully assert that the term catechist was more appropriate to his missionaries than "schoolmasters," certainly the term designated accurately the nature of the instruction they imparted.[76]

Despite dissatisfaction, the limited utility of the catechetical method was obvious. It provided the shortest time to teach what were considered fundamental truths, without the intellectual diversions and distractions of discovering such truths for oneself, or the risks involved in argumentation, doubt and skepticism. As the method consisted of answers which were memorized and not immediately understood, catechism could be taught by rote to numerous subjects simultaneously. Of course, it was hoped that understanding would accompany the answers and, if not, that understanding would eventually illumine the mind.

The reputed economy of catechizing was that instruction could be given simultaneously to a greater number of people. This is of course no guarantee of its final efficiency. The question-answer method in fact is more suited to small groups or to individuals. The Wesleyans, in an attempt to overcome the impersonal character of catechizing, boasted of a plan they used in Antigua by which they spoke individually and "very particularly once in two or three months to all members of society." They claimed that this enabled them to more fully ascertain their "actual religious state."[77] Many missionaries visited surrounding estates to catechize slaves during "shellblow," that is, lunch breaks, but this was hardly long enough to be effectual. Rev. Hope Masterton Waddell observed of the method that if a missionary was given permission to visit an estate to teach slaves orally "at the noon interval of labour," it was treated as a "favour" and "did not include reading lessons."[78]

Missionaries who were not satisfied with catechizing, but did the best they could with the method under the constraints placed upon them, probably agreed in principle with Mrs. Sarah Trimmer, a Sunday school advocate in Britain,

> By catechising I do not mean the merely asking questions on the teacher's side, and the answering them again on the scholar's part by a set form of words; . . . but a more particular and continual explanation in the colloquial style, in which the answers shall be in some measure the result of the children's own apprehension of what has been explained to them by the teacher. 79

Whether they were able to thus catechize, given the obstacles of language, is doubtful; but there is enough evidence pointing to their methods of catechizing and oral instruction as being "particularly adapted to the minds and capacity of their learners."[80]

The methods and manner of instructing by pious missionaries was actually viewed by the SPG chaplain on the Codrington Estates in Barbadoes as a "condescending familiarity" and quite "disgusting" for being so![81] A year before that comment was made, in 1823, another observer noted that the very habits of life and education of a missionary gave him a "marked advantage over our ecclesiastics in matters of conversion" because they were used to "dealing with ignorant men whose minds and habits comprehend slowly."[82] In addition it was of great help that they learned " to unvowell [the] half intelligible jargon" of the slaves.[83]

There is evidence that the missionaries methods of oral instruction were ones of "patience and perseverance,"[84] envied but rarely emulated by the official clergy. There is also evidence of a personal relationship between teacher and slaves which comprised both tenderness and respect for "the vigor of their intellect and acuteness of their understanding."[85] An example of tenderness is in the wry comment by an otherwise dour Mrs. Dawes.

> I was sorry to find several who must be five years old, not able to answer the question, who made you? The greater part answered, "Mammy, ma'am." 86

Some, indeed, boasted of the slaves' intellectual accomplishments. Mrs. Gilbert, a Wesleyan who taught Sunday school in Antigua, was particularly excited about a slave Peregrine Pickle.[87] Where missionaries lacked the means of the best possible instruction, or where they lacked linguistic abilities, intimate and direct contact combined with genuine concern for their students must have overcome such problems. Like Smith they were encourage to speak "in the plainest manner," much as they would "to children" and to accompany their catechizing with "familiar conversation" rather than formal instruction.[88]

There is little evidence, however, that the missionaries did in fact make serious efforts to "unvowell their half intelligible jargon" if by this is meant the African dialects. There is some evidence that they learned the local patois; but they did not translate Scripture into the patois although learning the local languages and translation was the usual practice in the South Seas, India, or Africa. If missionary

Stearne was correct when he said in 1830 that the slaves were still "as little acquainted with English as when they first left their own countries" we might enquire why the missionaries apparently neglected to learn the local languages.[89]

It may be that the missionaries sent to the West Indies were not very adept at learning a second language. A more probable explanation, however, was that with the number of languages and dialects that had been brought over in the trans-Atlantic crossings, and the amount of proliferation and mixture of these languages and dialects, so much modification must have occurred as to make a systematic learning very difficult. Modifications occurred even from estate to estate, with the different mixings of slaves. Yet again, the West Indies was considerably influenced by European civil life, whereas Africa, India, and the South Seas were not. English was the official language and culture of the Caribbean colonies. Finally, English was the language of the masters, and in a slave society the enslaved were usually expected to learn the language and mores of the dominant class rather than the reverse. The missionaries in this respect were probably no less ethnocentric than the European class of which they were after all a part. Thus Mr. Swinyard could regret, while attending a particularly colourful love-feast, that he knew "so little negroism,"[90] and John Wray ironically wondered whether God could understand Berbice Creole or whether the slaves "must learn English" to pray. He himself spoke Creole to the slaves under his supervision.[91]

Catechizing and the importance of oral instruction were necessary because of the prohibitions on reading. But it has already been observed that these prohibitions were frequently ignored. Pupils were encouraged to read moral and scriptural truths for themselves so that they might become more convinced by them. Although teaching religious knowledge could occur without the teaching of reading the inclusion of carefully selected and carefully guided teaching advice for these lessons, both of which were included in the National, British, and Infant systems, indicates that reading was recognized as a highly desirable if not necessary part of religious instruction.[92]

On considering the content of the instruction given after an examination of a sample of the materials used, as well as those books which were to be read it is difficult to understand why the planters would object to such instruction, until one remembers that the content being used was not as crucial as the fact that reading was being taught at all.

Content and Materials

Teachers in the National System, according to Mrs. Trimmer, were not required to be highly endowed with academic brilliance although they were to demonstrate "a pious and devout frame of mind." The virtues the teacher were to possess covered the whole gamut from humility and patience, to justice and application.[93] Very low on the scale was that of learning although a teacher had to have "a competent knowledge of such things" as he was required to teach.[94] He was to teach "such things only as are most necessary and suitable" to poor children.[95]

Advanced reading, writing, and arithmetic were not necessary prerequisites, either for the poor or for the slave although the simpler stages of these subjects could be useful. The only books that were to be introduced, according to custom and good sense, into Antiguan Sunday schools were those that contained "the alphabet, the different parts of the catechism, and the holy bible." Even these were to be explained to and not read by slaves.[96] That geography was taught to slaves in a BFSS school in Jamaica is somewhat incongruous; yet Mr. Tinson reported that an average attendance of 132-140 students at a school in Kingston were learning the different countries of the British Isles and the chief towns and the geographical divisions of Europe.[97] The incongruity of providing any subject matter normally associated with the "liberal arts" did not appear to occur to these men teaching history, geography, or natural science in their mission schools.

It is in relation to the teaching of such subjects as geography and natural science that the Infant Method must also be considered. Pestalozzi's pedagogical principles, faithfully reproduced in the publications of Charles and Elizabeth Mayo and used by the Infant Society described object lessons which included History, Geography, Nature Study, Cyphering, Writing, Drawing and Spelling. All of these subjects were printed before the Society itself was finally established and it must be assumed that those missionaries using the Infant method, its materials, and equipment before 1833, were familiar with the liberal and integrated content of the Infant system's object lessons.[98] If they were still waiting for some of Mayo's later works, Pestalozzi's writings were readily available. Lessons on Objects

(1831) and Lessons on Shells (1832) contained over one hundred different object lessons for the missionaries to use.

To supply information to all the senses, a major purpose of the object lesson, a real object was preferred, otherwise pictures or engravings. Thus if the object was "glass," it was learned in all its qualities. Vocabulary such as smooth, cold, bright, transparent, was introduced as well as the integrated concepts of where it was made and how. "Busy work" comprised of combining numbers with objects. Thus instructions, "Draw four things we eat, six parts of a house, three actions of feet, two naughty things to do and five ways of showing we love God," were not uncommon. The graduated courses of instruction in the various subjects were systematically taught; religious instruction and moral training were as ordered, and as varied as the secular subjects.

Even when the question-answer methods of rote memorization were used, some BFSS materials introduced aspects of geography. For example, a map of the Holy Land was to be copied on slates with a monitor pointing at the city of Tyre.

> Monitor: Where is it?
> Pupil: On an island.
> Monitor: Describe the situation of the island.
> Pupil: It is at the eastern extremity of the Levant, opposite the northern part of the Holy Land, from which it is separated by a narrow strait.[99]

All pupils were expected to respond thus. If any such lessons were used in the West Indies by missionaries, it might be imagined that to a body of slaves such information was bewildering and barely comprehensible. But then to an equivalent body of the "manufacturing poor" in England, it cannot be assumed to have been any less bewildering; the educational value of the experience gained in the streets, mills, and mines was no more edifying than that of the plantations; the only advantage being that, although scarcely more erudite than slaves, the poor who were herded into the Sabbath Schools at home could at least understand the English language!

Apart from the materials and apparatus provided by the National Society, the BFSS, and the Infant Society, the missionaries received materials from the Sunday School Union and Religious Tract Society. The parent missionary societies also forwarded those materials which were contributed by subscribers to missionary enterprises. Small and inexpensive "gifts" were also forwarded to the missions to be used as prizes and rewards in the monitorial schools. The vast majority of materials used were related directly to scripture. Even the books comprised of moral and instructive tales were but thinly disguised scripturally based themes and, as such, exceedingly didactic in their purpose.

Isaac Watts' Divine and Moral Songs were very much in demand as were his catechisms. Short stories included evangelical admonitions and cautionary narratives praising virtue and deploring vice.[100] The heroes and heroines in the stories had such pointed names as Harry Heedless, Sammy Sly, and William Friendly, and were seen as appropriate exemplars to all children - poor and middle class, obdurate and pious, slave or free.[101] Religious literature included Fox's Book of Martyrs, Rippon's Selections, Paley's Evidences of Christian Religion, Doddridge's Sermons to Young People and last but not least the thoroughly middle class and as far as slaves were concerned inappropriate History of the Fairchild Family. Reward books included the Lives of the Apostles, which made for rather dull and heavy reading, an illustrated The Parable of the Prodigal Son, The Recaptured Negro and Missionary Anecdotes. The latter two books at least had some bearing on the lives of slaves. The Recaptured Negro told of the gratitude of a slave who after having run away was returned to the blessings of his master and Christianity. Missionary Anecdotes illustrated pious tales of converted children and the challenges and rewards of working among the heathen. All of the materials requested were listed in the catalogues of the Sunday School Union, The Religious Tract Society, and the BFSS. The materials were therefore used for the poor of England and the West Indian slave alike. Much of it notably, The Pleasantness of Religion Exemplified, Baxter's A Call to the Unconverted, and a Geography of the Bible, was also used for middle class children of evangelical families. Whether appropriate or not, it is not difficult to imagine the pride of a slave in owning such a book as a reward for diligence, and the greater pride of his being able to read it.

Naturally, the majority of the materials used for religious instruction contained Christian ethical problems and their undisputed resolutions, along with appropriate scriptural references. These provided the base for all the instruction. New Testament scripture was preferred above all because its allegories and biblical allusions were much less complicated than those of the Old Testament. Moreover, the Old Testament contained rather too much material dealing with the condition of slavery inasmuch as a good proportion of it was related to the ancient Hebrews "in bondage." When taught, reading, writing and spelling, were integrated with scripture. Each day began with the reading and copying of a scriptural exhortation such as "Honour thy father and Mother" or "Return Good for Evil." Such simple reading exercises as "If a man do ill he can not go to God," could be related directly to religion.[102] The alphabet itself could be nicely utilized by missionaries, as the Religious Tract Society demonstrated in a popular pamphlet which showed how a letter could begin a verse and be learned. The letter "B" was followed by verses such as the following:

> Blessed is the man that walketh in the counsel
> of the ungodly . . . Psalm I:I.

To make the lesson clearer the scripture text was easily transformed into verse.

> Blessed is the child who seeks to know
> The ways of God and loves them well
> Who shuns the path that sinners go
> Destructive path that leads to hell.[103]

In 1809, the Reverend John Davies of the LMS in British Guiana printed his own series of reading lessons for "children of the Black and Coloured Population" based on BFSS examples.[104] It bears remarkable resemblance to much of the National Society's sequenced lessons for reading which itself contained moral and religious content.[105] Davies' first lesson listed nouns such as an arm, a dog and a rib, followed by simple statements and questions.

> I am
> You may
> He ran
> Not yet

You are
They will
Why do you cry?
How are you sir?

The second class were given a simple story to read beginning with "Ann sit down and read. What shall I read sir?" The story included such questions as follows:

Who made you?
The Great God.
What does he do for you?
He keeps me from harm by night and by day.

The more difficult stories did not contain explicit religious content although they were didactic. They also contained very English children such as Charles, Jane, James and Ann, with a thoroughly English way of life.

The use of catechisms was clearly less preferred than other pedagogical materials related to reading but the strictures on the latter forced a concentrated attention on the former. Catechisms were a popular pedagogical aid in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and it would be a mistake to assume that only religious teachers used this form of instruction or that all catechisms consisted of only religious content. Although catechisms which used the question-answer form were made up especially for charity children, Sunday school scholars, catechumens, and slaves, they were also available for household economy, metaphysics, useful knowledge, arguments against sectaries, the rights and duties of natural man, shorthand, and even minerology.[106] Replies in verse were as popular as scriptural ones and preference was given to catechisms which combined both. The following examples come from "A Poetical Catechism" for the use of Sunday schools.

> Question: How many then are God's commands
> Which he put into our hands.
>
> Answer: He hath then every one comprised in ten
> He did then write - his finger was the pen.
>
> Question: Did our first parents at this time
> Involve none other in their crime?
>
> Answer: They did involve all their succeeding race [107]
> In guilt and filth which brought them to disgrace.

The first catechism of Isaac Watts was in constant demand in missionary requisitions because it combined readily memorizable rhythmic verses with religious statements of the most profound nature. Catechisms were a form of learning deemed appropriate for the slave as for the freeman. Watts catechism was created for the young but it was seen to be eminently suitable for the illiterate poor and ignorant bondsman as well.

Apart from answering the universal and ponderous questions of mankind in a brief answer, catechisms could just as well inform potential Christians their duties, their stations in life, and their moral flaws. A good catechism attempted to integrate all lessons of duty, station and morality — that is to wed religious, social and moral truths into a necessary order.

A good example of such a booklet was the one the LMS missionary, John Wray, compiled — a work of no great originality but one especially adapted for slaves. His section on "The Duties of Servants and Slaves to Their Masters and Mistresses and Managers" is of special interest. The preceding sections had established the moral basis of one's duties such as faithfulness, obedience, respect and diligence. These were not established as a priori truths but were proven by scriptural references. Questions five and eight are examples of the integration of religion with duty and respect for a master's property.

> Question: Suppose a servant or slave meets with an unfeeling master, does that lessen the duty of respect.
>
> Answer: By no means for it is the command of God, I Peter 2:18-19, "Servants shall be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward . . . ."
>
> Question: What is the duty of servants as to the property of their masters?
>
> Answer: To keep from and watch against the sin of theft, waste and negligence, and to be as careful of their master's property as if it were their own.[108]

In addition to the catechisms on various subjects, catechisms peculiar to the different denominations, catechisms compiled by missionaries for slaves, the Religious Tract Society provided an aid to teachers called The Catechiser's Assistant.[109] This aid contained sample lessons from scripture which pertained to the text for the day. The text formed the basis for the lesson which consisted of a lecture and a series of questions with answers. The answers were scriptural ones and an address followed which tied all the preceding together.

The content and materials used by missionaries in their schools and in their endeavours to christianize slaves were the same materials and content used by evangelicals in Sunday schools and charity schools in England. There is little evidence that the materials were adapted to a new set of social or cultural circumstances of slaves or even to the West Indies. John Wray's catechism and John Davies' reading lessons were exceptions and not the rule and even then imitations of the materials commonly used by all other missionaries and imported from England. As far as content and materials were concerned the christianization of slaves was seen, in fact, no differently to the christianization of the lower classes in Britain.

The slaves were seen in fact as an extension of the "poor;" albeit ones with black skins and in a more unfortunate social condition. Therefore religious instruction for slaves reflected a class bias rather than a racial one. The differences that can be discerned were primarily due to the differences in the denominations themselves. For example, the CMS stressed the use of the Anglican liturgy and attempted to provide a greater comprehension of it as well as the thirty-nine articles and the creed. The Wesleyans used their particular "methodistical" system which consisted of structured and supervised bands, classes, leaders, catechumens, and ticket systems. The Baptists, often unable to achieve the full extent of literacy their system required, adopted some of the methodistical tactics. To them, the question-answer method of catechizing was not as satisfactory as the reading of scripture itself. They thus customarily disdained the use of catechisms and set great store on reading as a means to religious knowledge. Wesleyans, Independents, and Anglicans all used their own church catechisms which expounded their doctrines.

Probably, the dissenters who used the reputedly non-sectarian Lancasterian system in the West Indies did not in all likelihood keep their distinctive private or religious views out of the picture. It would be unreasonable to expect them to have been so highminded as that. After all, they were in the West Indies not only to make slaves into Christians but surely also to make christian slaves into Baptists, Anglicans, Methodists, Independents, or whatever. It seems certain that the missionaries involved in this system were not altogether impartial in the matter of religious instruction.

Outcomes of Missionary Schooling

Some years after slavery had ended, a small book called Missionary Stories was written for the edification of negroes who may not have been entirely happy with their lot in life, nor grateful to the blessings missionary education brought to them. The "little negro," the hero of one of the tales demonstrates his contentment and gratitude in the following prayer!

> Oh lord, I thank thee for sending big ship into my country, and wicked men to steal me and bring me here that I might know and love thee. And now Lord Jesus I have one great favour to ask. I pray thee to send wicked men with another big ship and let them catch my father and mother, and bring them to this country, that they too may hear of thee.[110]

Curiously, this prayer represents the main goal of missionary education; but it does not necessarily represent the actual outcome of it. The main goal was to christianize a slave so that he might sincerely believe that bondage had been in the long run for the good of his soul. Such a prayer also reflects the latent function of christianization — that such contentment and gratitude helped maintain social order. The actual outcomes of missionary schooling was not quite as ideal.

Social order was not maintained through missionary education.

Indeed a small group of missionaries became agitants for a change in the social order principally because of the strictures this very order of things placed upon them as teachers. This group of missionaries wrote to England, published their grievances, complained about the conditions under slavery, and exposed the moral weaknesses of the planting class. Had the constraints to reading been lifted the missionaries felt they could have more effectively achieved their goals. These goals had not originally included overthrowing the existing social order although slavery was repugnant to many of them. The small group of disaffected missionaries, notably the Jamaican Baptists, added their evidences of interferences with their work and of persecution, to the case against slavery which had been mounting in the late twenties in Britain.

Such an attempt at the strengthening of the bonds of social order, which included ideas of contentment and gratitude, was doomed to failure. One must assume the missionaries knew this although their rhetoric on the matter kept up appearances. The Jamaican methodist missionary, the Reverend Hope Masterton Waddell was surely not the only missionary to have realized the incipient resentment of the slave to his condition when he made the following interesting and sympathetic observation. He stated that slaves might have their insubordination momentarily quelled; they might grow callous to their condition, or cunning enough to seem patient, but they could not altogether be "broken" unless quite stupefied.

> Man is also an improveable animal, and the worse his condition is, he must the more desire and improvement of it, to the extent he sees enjoyed by others. Freedom

> of will and action he naturally regards as his best condition. No mere improvement of the state of slavery will fully satisfy those subjected to it. They may have less to complain of than formerly but will see more to desire. 111

Kenneth Stampp's compassionate study of slavery observes the same phenonemon, particularly in his chapter called "A Troublesome Property." He points out, using the testimony of Frederick Douglas, the famous American ex-slave, that "give him a bad master, and he aspires to a good master; give him a good master, and he wishes to become his own master." The desire for freedom was always close to a slave's consciousness — even a christian slave's — it was seldom speculated upon as an abstraction. "Submission did not necessarily mean enjoyment or even contentment. And some slaves felt more than a vague longing, felt a sharp pang, and saw a clear objective."[112]

There remains some difficulty in establishing just how successful the missionaries were in achieving their goals. On the one hand the reports they wrote for publication in their Societies' magazines and the statistics of school attendance and conversion rates were glowing ones; on the other hand their obvious dissatisfaction with their impact is also evidenced. Often the very positive reports published by the Societies were used as a seduction to keep subscriptions coming in. A public which was given little encouragement to continue in its philanthropy might cease to support missions which had a low success rate.

In 1833 in Antigua, the Wesleyans had 2,321 slaves in "connexion" and 1,852 attending schools, forty of whom were free.[113]

That year the CMS reported the number of scholars in its thirteen West Indian schools to be only 786.[114] The BMS in Jamaica in 1831 had fourteen pastors, twenty-four churches and 10,838 members, but the significance of this figure is somewhat diminished when we remember that there were approximately 322,421 slaves according to the 1829 census.[115] In 1834, John Wray's chapel in New Amsterdam, Berbice, attended to 401 children and 66 adults at sabbath schools, 20 at infant school and 40 at the Winckel Day School. This is probably a generous estimation of the numbers prior to emancipation. J. Ketley reported 2,300 members of the LMS out of 101,836 slaves in Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo in 1833, and ruefully remarked that "progress was slow."[116] None of these figures pertain to the number of real conversions.

The main outcome of missionary schooling and the christianizing of slaves during this period was a sharp division between planter attitudes toward education and missionary hopes of the results of education. The schools, the teachers, the students, and their owners were caught up in the dilemma of the incompatability of knowledge with slavery and this manifested itself in constraints upon reading. Without reading, missionary schooling would remain largely ineffectual even in realizing their rather limited vision of merely christianizing slaves.

The dilemma was best expressed by John Wray who had seventy children reading at various stages in his Lancasterian school. In 1826 he made the following remark about reading, "This is an important object . . . for till the poor things are taught to read little moral or religious improvement can be expected."[117]

Conclusion

In summary, it seems accurate to say that during slavery few went to missionary schools in proportion to the total slave population. Of those who went, few received an inferior education than that offered to the poor in England. Indeed it is more likely that, given the smaller numbers and smaller classes as well as the emotional proximity of teacher to student, that they received a slightly better education. The few which did receive any education would be able to offer themselves as leaders of a sort, being the few literates in a predominantly illiterate population. Finally, the missionaries were not only puritanical preachers; they were pedagogues as well, and being completely at variance with their society, might even be called a radical element within West Indian slave society.

In the final analysis, the significance of the mission schools was not dissimilar to their Sunday and Charity school counterparts in England. These schools achieved results which were best measured not in the total number of converts, but in terms of the literacy skills that were transmitted. Had not a zealous band of enthusiasts not seen minimal education as good for individual souls and as good for the society as a whole these scholars otherwise might not have gained any such knowledge.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

[1] John Barry, Letter Addressed to Rt. Hon. Sir George Murray . . . Involving the Characters of the Missionaries (London, 1830), p. 9.

[2] Richard Watson, A Defence of Wesleyan Missions in the West Indies (London, 1817), p. 9, note 7.

[3] Ibid., p. 140.

[4] Annual Report of the BMS, Thursday, June 21, 1827, pp. 24-27 and Summary View of the Proceedings of the BMS, Appendix 2, pp. 18-24.

[5] Dawes to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, October 1823, MI (1814-27), pp. 267-274, CMSA.

[6] Elliott to Directors, June 17, 1814, Box 1, Br. G/D (1807-14) LMSA. He observed that some slaves were attracted by the personality of a particular missionary. He remarked, "What a pity they have not given themselves to Christ!"

[7] For example, "On the Admission and Exclusion of Members" (n. d.) Item 1, West Indies Box 1830, WMMSA.

[8] Instructions for Missionaries to the West India Islands. (London, 1795), p. 14.

[9] Hyde to Committee, September 26, 1821, Item 56, File 2a, West Indies Box 1821-22, WMMSA.

[10] Quoted in Elsa V. Goveia, Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the End of the Eighteenth Century (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), pp. 266-267.

[11] Mr. Davies Giddy in a House of Commons Speech, 1807, said,

> Giving education to the labouring classes of the poor would in effect be found to be prejudicial to their morals and happiness; it would teach them to despise their stations in

> life, instead of making them good servants in agricultural and other laborious employments . . . instead of teaching them subordination it would render them fractious and refractory.

Quoted in J. L. and Barbara Hammond, The Town Labourer, 1760-1832 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1966), p. 66.

[12] Missionary Register (November 1818):484-486.

[13] Dawes to Committee, November 15, 1821, Item 93, West Indies Box 1818-20, WMMSA.

[14] Quarterly Chronicle of Transactions of the CMS 1815-20, 1:521.

[15] Barry, p. 25.

[16] Proceedings of the CMS (1819-20):23.

[17] Statement of the Plan, Object, and Effects of the Wesleyan Missions in the West Indies (London, 1824), p. 37.

[18] Proceedings of the CMS (1819-20):205.

[19] "Review of Advice to Servants: Being Five Family Lectures Delivered to Domestic Slaves in the Island of Barbadoes in the Year, 1822, by the Rev. John Hothersall Pinder," The Christian Remembrancer 6 (March 1824):151-154. Pinder was chaplain to the Codrington Plantation.

Missionary Register (November 1818):484-486, and "A Leeward Island Resolution and Law on Public Worship of Slaves, A Message from the General Assembly to the President and General Council, March 28, 1798." Item 32, West Indies Box 1803-13, WMMSA.

[20] "Extracts from a letter addressed to Zachary Macaulay, Secretary to the Commission for Managing the Crown Property in South America Containing Some Suggestions for the Moral and Religious Improvement of the Negroes by John Wray." (n. d.) Box 1A Br. G/B (1813-22) LMSA.

[21] Wray to Burder, March 9, 1827, Box 2, Br. G/B (1827-34) LMSA.

[22] Wray to Directors, August 4, 1813, and "To His Excellency, Major General Murtay of Berbice, on Teaching the Slaves to Read and Write," September 1813, Box 1A, Br. G/B (1813-22) LMSA.

[23] Smith to Directors, March 4, 1817, Box 2, Br. G/D (1815-22) LMSA.

[24] This part of the dialogue is excerpted from a collection of eighteenth century tracts, and used in Robert McColley, *Slavery and Jeffersonian Virginia* (2nd ed.; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973), pp. 211-216.

[25] Henry Whiteley, *Excessive Cruelty to Slaves - Three Months Residence in Jamaica - Comprising a Residence of Seven Weeks on a Sugar Plantation* (London, 1833), p. 13.

A Mississippi citizen said the same thing in 1823 which indicates how imbedded the assumption was in the minds of slave owners. Charles S. Sydnor, *Slavery in Mississippi* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966), p. 53.

[26] Watson, p. 140.

[27] Smith to Burder, February 28, 1823, Box 3, Br. G/D (1823-29) LMSA.

[28] John Wray, "Extracts from a Letter Addressed to Zachary Macaulay," Item 6.

[29] Edward Bean Underhill, *Life of James Mursell Phillippo* (London, 1881), p. 75.

[30] Hurst to Blanshard, June 17, 1814, Item 58, *West Indies Box 1814-15*, WMMSA.

[31] Dawes to Secretary, May 28, 1820, Box 1, M1-8 (1814-17), pp. 24-27, CMSA. Reference to reading is found in the "Report of the Antigua Branch Association of the Conversion and Religious Instruction of Negro Slaves in the West Indies," *The Antigua Free Press*, January 11, 1828, p. 1. The restrictions on reading were not as strictly enforced in Antigua.

[32] Davies to Directors, July 4, 1810, and May 3, 1814, Box I, Br. G/D (1807-14) LMSA.

[33] Rev. John Davies, "The First Printing Done in Georgetown, Demerara, Toward Teaching Its Children of the Black and Coloured Population, Reading (1809-10)," Box 1, Br. G/D (1807-14) LMSA.

[34] Wray to His Excellency, W. Beard, Governor of Berbice, June 18, 1821, Box 1A, Br.G/B (1813-22) LMSA.

[35] Eleventh Annual Report of the WMMS Sunday School Institute, Antigua, 1828, Item 2, West Indies Box 1829, WMMSA.

[36] Proceedings of the CMS (1818-19):354-355.

[37] Rev. Hope Masterton Waddell, Twenty-Nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa (London, 1863), p. 34.

[38] London Committee Meeting, October 13, 1819, An Account of the Proceedings of the BMS, 3 (1815-20): 90.

[39] Knibb to his brothers and sisters, care of Edward Knibb, January 8, 1826, W1/3, BMSA.

[40] First Annual Report of the National Society. (London, 1812).

[41] Sarah Trimmer. A Comparative View of the New Plan of Education Promulgated By Mr. Joseph Lancaster . . . and, of the System of Christian Education . . . For the Initiation of the Young Members of the Church in the Principles of the Reformed Religion (London, 1805), p. 130.

[42] Rev. Andrew Bell, Mutual Tuition and Moral Discipline or Manual of Instructions of Conducting Schools Through The Agency of the Scholars Themselves (7th ed.; London, 1823), p. 64.

[43] A Practical Manual of the Madras or National System of Education as Practised at the Society's Central Schools, London (London, 1833). The original plan by Bell was described in An Experiment in Education, Made at the Male Asylum at Madras . . . (London, 1797).

[44] Rev. Frederic Iremonger, Dr. Bell's System of Instruction Broken Into Short Questions and Answers For the Use of Masters and Teachers in the National Schools. (London, 1835).

[45] The author realizes that there have been comparisons made of the two systems, but these differences do not pertain to the West Indies. Any discernible differences for example over discipline were probably more related to individual missionary attitudes and methods than between National or Lancasterian partisanship. Bell's system

was less inclined to corporal punishment in theory although one doubts whether Bell's sentiments were always practised. "Corporal punishment has no tendency of itself to sharpen the wit, improve the memory, or advance the knowledge of the patient. On the other hand it frequently serves only to harden the offender, disgust his school fellows, beget a hatred of the school, the book, and the master." He recommended instead constant teacher supervision, intrinsic motives and inducements, and the use of rewards, deprivations, and honours. Lancaster preferred public shaming to corporal punishment but the penalties were extremely harsh. Rev. Andrew Bell, *Mutual Tuition and Moral Discipline* . . . pp. 63-65; W. A. C. Stewart and W. P. McCann, *The Educational Innovators, 1750-1880* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1967), pp. 225-230; *Remarks on a System of National Education by the Editor of the Stamford News* (Stamford, 1812); Henry Bryan Binns, *A Centenary of Education Being the Centenary History of the BFSS 1808-1908* (London: John Dent & Co., 1908); and *Schools For All In Preference for Churchmen Only* (London, 1812).

[46] It was previously known as "The Society for Promoting the Royal British or Lancasterian System for the Education of the Poor" and the "Institution for Promoting the British System for the Education of the Labouring and Manufacturing Classes of Society of Every Religious Persuasion."

[47] Carl F. Kaestle (editor), *Joseph Lancaster and the Monitorial School Movement - A Documentary History* (New York: Columbia University, Teachers College Press, 1973), p. 20.

[48] *Manual of the System of Instruction With Plain Directions For the Establishment of Schools* (London, 1843), p. 1.

[49] *Manual of the System of Primary Instruction Pursued in the Model Schools of the BFSS* (London, 1831), pp. 15-16.

[50] *Manual of the System of Teaching Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and Needlework in the Elementary Schools of the BFSS,* (London, 1816), pp. vii-viii.

[51] Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees; or, Private Vices, Public Benefits* (Edinburgh, 1772), I:216.

[52] *Manual of the System of Primary Instruction* (1831).

[53] *Report of the BFSS* (1829), p. 32.

[54] Philip Wright, *Knibb the Notorious* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1973), p. 33.

[55] Report of the BFSS (1831), pp. 116-119.

[56] Report of the BFSS (1833), pp. 29-30.

[57] Ibid., p. 119.

[58] Lewis to Clayton, October 22, 1831, Box 4, Br.G/D (1830-35) LMSA.

[59] Ketley to Secretary, May 24, 1832, Ibid.

[60] Ketley to Ellis, September 12, 1833, Ibid.

[61] Scott to Ellis, August 24, 1833, Ibid.

[62] For more information about the Infant Method see Nanette Whitebread, The Evolution of the Nursery-Infant School (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 12-14; Hugh M. Pollard, Pioneers of Popular Education (London: John Murray, 1956), pp. 180-187; and W. A. C. Stewart and W. P. McCann, pp. 151-152, 169-179 and 242-246.

[63] Pollard, p. 187.

[64] C. Mayo, Memoir of Pestalozzi (London, 1828), p. 26.

[65] Preface by Charles Mayo in C. Reimer, Lessons in Number (London, 1831), p. viii.

[66] Charles Mayo, Observations on the Establishment and Direction of Infant Schools, Being the Substance of a Lecture Delivered at the Royal Institution, May 1826 (London, 1827), p. 9.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Trimmer, pp. 58-60.

[69] Ibid., p. 89. [70] Ibid., p. 60.

[71] Joseph Lancaster, "Outlines of a Plan for Educating Ten Thousand Poor Children by Establishing Schools in Country Towns and Villages and for Uniting Workings of Industry with Useful Knowledge," The Edinburgh Review, (October 1807-January 1808):61-73, especially page 70.

[72] Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter (November 30, 1831):472.

[73] Wray to Directors, November 21, 1808, Box 1 Br.G/D (1807-14) LMSA.

[74] Davies to Directors, October 4, 1809, Ibid.

[75] "A General Meeting of the Planters and Clergy and Others Concerned in the Government of Slaves Held at the Central School, September 15, 1823." Fulham Papers (American), xvi:199-20, LPL.

[76] Dawes to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, October, 1823, Book 1, M1-8, (1814-27), pp. 267-274, CMSA.

[77] Report of the WMMS (1827), p. 70 and James Cox to George Morley, December 31, 1827, Item 45, West Indies Box 1827-28, WMMSA. At Willoughby Bay, Antigua, the questioning was on sabbath observance, prayer, government of children, forgiveness of injuries, payment of debts, matters of dress; all of which relate to religious behaviour rather than religious knowledge.

[78] He concedes that some proprietors allowed reading when emancipation "loomed in the distance." Waddell, p. 34.

[79] Trimmer, p. 125.

[80] "A Leeward Island Resolution and Law on Public Worship of Slaves, March 28, 1798," Item 32, West Indies Box 1803-13, WMMSA.

[81] "Review of Advice to Servants . . ." Beilby Porteus also observed in 1807 that many churchmen lacked "the peculiar sort of talents and qualifications . . . so successfully displayed in the missionaries of other churches." An Essay Toward a Plan for the More Effectual Civilization and Conversion of the Negroe Slaves . . . (London, 1807), p. 173.

[82] Sir G. H. Rose, A Letter on the Means and Importance of Converting Slaves in the West Indies to Christianity (London, 1823), pp. 15-33.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Rev. Beilby Porteus, An Essay Toward a Plan for the More Effectual Civilization and Conversion of the Negroe Slaves (London, 1807), p. 173.

[85] Quoted in O. W. Furley, "Protestant Missionaries in the West Indies: Pioneers of a Non-Racial Society," Race 6 (January 1965):234.

[86] Mrs. Dawes to Secretary, March 10, 1820, Book 1, (1814 -27) M1-8, pp. 5-14, CMSA.

[87] Mrs. Gilbert, A Short Account of Peregrine Pickle, Baptised Peter, A Negro Belonging to His Majesty Employed in the Naval Yard at English Harbour, Antigua, May 3, 1821. Item 96, West Indies Box 1820-20, WMMSA.

[88] "Instructions from the Directors of the Missionary Society to Mr. Smith . . . December 8, 1816," Proceedings of a General Court Martial Against John Smith of the LMS, pp. 623-630 CO 111: 42, PRO.

[89] Stearne to Coates, July 19, 1830, CW/050/3 CMSA and Missionary Register (December, 1829):541-544.

[90] Swinyard to Marsden, April 12, 1817, Item 129, West Indies Box 1816-18, WMMSA.

[91] Wray to Hankey, July 17, 1823, Box 1B, Br.G/B (1823-26) LMSA and Reverend T. Rain, Life of John Wray - Pioneer Missionary to British Guiana (London, 1892).

[92] Book-work, cyphering, and writing were seen as a "motive" and "reward" intrinsic to the National System when contrasted with some of the percuniary and material prizes of the Lancasterian system. Joseph Fox, "A Comparative View of the Plans of Education as detailed in the Publication of Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster, and Remarks on Dr. Bell's Madras Schools, and Hints to the Managers and Committees of Charity and Sunday Schools on the Practicality of Extending such Institutions Upon Mr. Lancaster's Plan," The Quarterly Review (October 1811):264-304.

[93] Trimmer, pp. 93-105.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid., p. 106.

[96] First Annual Report of the Committee for Conducting the Methodist Auxiliary Sunday School Society at Parham, Institutes, June 7, 1820, for the instruction of Negro Children in That Neighborhood, St. John's, December 15, 1821, Item 105 West Indies Box 1818-20 and Howell and Whitehouse to Committee, May 7, 1822, Item 51 West Indies Box 1822-23, WMMSA.

[97] Report of the BFSS (1833), p. 119.

[98] Charles Mayo began a Pestalozzian School at Epsom in 1822 and then one at Cheam in 1826. The Mayos were influenced by Pestalozzi's How Gertrude Teaches Her Children, whose ideas pervade the following publications.

Charles Mayo, Memoir of Pestalozzi (London, 1818); Observations and Establishment and Direction of Infant Schools (London, 1827); Elizabeth Mayo, Lessons in Objects (London: 1831) and Lessons in Shells (London: 1832). Later publications were used in infant training. Although not officially printed before 1833 the materials and lessons were widely discussed prior to their publication, having been presented in lectures and used at various infant schools. These publications included, A Selection of Hymns and Poetry for Use of Infant Schools and Nurseries in Five Parts (London, 1838); C. Reimer, Lessons on Form, or An Introduction to Geometry as Given in a Pestalozzian School, Cheam, Surrey (London, 1837); C. & E. Mayo, Practical Remarks on Infant Education for the Use of Schools and Private Families (London, 1831); E. Mayo, Model Lessons for Infant School Teachers and Nursery Governesses (London, 1838); Graduated Course of Instruction for Infant Schools and Nurseries (London, 1847); and Religious Instruction in a Graduated Series of Lessons for Young Children (London, 1845).

[99] Manual of the System of Primary Instruction . . . (1831), p. 45.

[100] Sarah Trimmer's "Maxims to Promote Piety and Virtue in Children" had argued that religious instruction must represent vice in its greatest deformity and virtue in its most pleasing dress! Instructive Tales (London, 1821), pp. 254-260.

[101] Evangelical literature was written for all children not only the poor. It influenced a great deal of the children's literature of the early nineteenth century. The following books discuss this influence and provide examples of the kind of didactic literature used by British evangelicals and subsequently by missionaries.

Mrs. E. Field, The Child and His Books (London: 1892); F. J. Darton, Children's Books in England: Five Centuries of Social Life (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960); Mrs. Pilkington, A Biography for Girls on Moral and Instructive Examples for Young Ladies (London, 1799); Mary Martha Sherwood, The History of the Fairchild Family or the Child's Manual (London, 1818); Andrew W. Tuer, Stories From Old Fashioned Children's Books (London, 1899); Gillian Avery, Nineteenth Century Children - Heroes and Heroines in English Children's Stories, 1780-1900 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1965); Isaac Watts, Divine and Moral Songs for the Use of Children (London: n. d.); Anne and Jane Taylor, Hymns for Infant Minds, (49th Edition London, 1868). Some examples of the publications from the Religious Tract Society include Mary Martha Sherwood, The Flower of the Forest (1839) and Little Henry and His Bearer (1814); also the anonymous First Steps of Evil or the Single Glass of Wine (n. d.).

[102] J. Fursman, Reading and Spelling Made Easy Containing Nearly Two Hundred Progressive Lessons of Reading and Spelling Arranged for Every Day of the Week and Month (London, n. d.), pp. 2-5.

[103] The Picture Alphabet in Prose and Verse (Religious Tract Society, 1834), pp. 3-4.

[104] John Davies "The First Printing Done." Box 1, Br. G/D (1807-14) LMSA.

[105] As can be seen throughout Rev. Frederic Iremonger, and Andrew Bell, Elements of Tuition (Edinburgh, 1831).

[106] The British Museum Library has a never-ending collection of such catechisms!

[107] R. Chapman, A Poetical Catchism Intended for the Use of Young Persons Attending Sabbath Schools for Religious Instruction (Glasgow, n. d.), pp. 46 and 31.

[108] The catechism was either taken from, or formed a basis for, a booklet of the same title which was used for a sermon. The notes for the catechism are found in Appendix B, Box 2, B. G/B (1815-22) and the details of the sermon are in Box 1B, Br. G/B (1823-26) LMSA.

[109] The Catechizer's Assistant Designed for the Use of Parents, Masters, and Teachers (The Religious Tract Society, n. d.), pp. 1-20.

[110] "The Prayer of the Little Negro," Missionary Stories (London, 1842), p. 7.

[111] Waddell, p. 67.

[112] Kenneth Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1964), pp. 88-92.

[113] *A Letter from E. Murray MacGregor to Rev. R. Holbertson, Rector of St. John's, the Superintendent of the Moravians, and Rev. Matthew Banks, Superintendent of the Wesleyan Mission, Antigua, October 28, 1833*. Item 172, Enclosures 10 and 11, *CO. 7:37.* A year later the number of slaves was estimated at 29, 537. MacGregor to Stanley, May 5, 1834, Item 99, *CO. 7:38*, PRO. *The Minutes of Conference*, 90, Manchester (July, 1833), agree with the estimate of the number of slaves in connexion under four missionaries.

[114] *Proceedings of the CMS*, (1832-33), p. 34.

[115] These figures are given by the Baptist Missionaries, *A Narrative of Recent Events Connected with the Baptist Mission . . . to the End of 1831* (Jamaica, 1833), and confirmed by the Wesleyan, John Barry, *Letter Addressed to Sir George Murray* who estimated Baptist membership to be "about 10, 000" in Jamaica.

[116] *Report of the Berbice Auxiliary Missionary Society in Connexion with the LMS*, (1834), gives Wray's estimate of the possible attendance. P. 3. J. Ketley's report had a pencil mark beside the figure 2, 300 which altered it to 6, 000. Apparently the altered figure was to be published as the preceding one was not grandiose enough! J. Ketley to Rev. W. Ellis, September 12, 1833, Box 4 Br. G/D (1830-35). He had 250 in Sunday school, 150 at Infant School and 220 at Evening schools. The children attended Sunday Schools from 9 to 10:30 a. m. and 1:45 to 5 p. m. and the adults 12:45 to 2 p. m. The evening classes were conducted Mondays, 7-8 p. m. for men, and on Fridays for women. Ketley said progress was "slow." J. Scott, corrected some figures previously reported by the Society as being 500 and not 1, 000. He reported that he had an average of 160 at Sunday Schools averaging 11 years of age from 1-2 p. m. or 4-5 p. m. and twenty of these were "ignorant and stupid," that is were unable to learn reading as most of the others were. J. Scott to Rev. W. Ellis, March 8, 1833 and August 24, 1833, Box 4, BG./D (1830-35) LMSA.

[117] Knibb to Edward Knibb, January 8, 1826, W1/3 BMSA.

Let the time that is past suffice for doing what the Gentiles do, living in licentiousness, passions, drunkeness, revels, carousing, and lawless idolatry. They are surprised that you do not join them in the same wild profligacy and they abuse you.

I Peter 4:3-4.

It is dangerous to make slaves Christians without giving them their liberty . . . What will be the consequences when that class of men is given the title of beloved brethren as is actually done? Will not the negro conceive that by baptism, being made a Christian, he is as creditable as his Christian white brethren?

Royal Gazette (1808).

CHAPTER V

MISSIONARIES, PLANTERS, AND SLAVES

Introduction

The previous discussion not only described the various aims, methods, and content of missionary education to slaves but also introduced the crucial problem related to such an education, namely, that knowledge and slavery are incompatible. It now remains to enquire into the matter of schools and education in a slave society by examining the points of view of the three major groups of actors in the scenario — missionaries, planters, and slaves.

Eugene Genovese, in his two important works on slavery, The World the Slaveholders Made (1969) and Roll, Jordan, Roll - The World The Slaves Made (1972) adds a richer dimension to the oversimplified dichotomy of oppressor and oppressed. He details the subtleties of inter-relationship between the two groups, and, further to this, explains how mutually dependent each was upon the other. He attempts to explain the "worlds" the groups made for themselves, by considering how each group perceived itself and oriented itself to the significant social and economic references which the other provided. By seeing their worlds separately, differently, but in no way mutually exclusively each group established certain expectations, attitudes, and perceptions. Their interdependence was thus as psychological as it was economic. The attitudes which developed out of these inter-relationships were in turn part of a mentality, or state of mind, which created a "world" that could more easily adapt to the required norms of the social structure.

Missionaries in the social or economic sense were not seen as significant, they were, after all, "mere nothings" in the usual order of things. However, as teachers, they took on a new and important significance. To the planters they were a threat to social order; to the slaves, providers of some social equity. How then did planters and slaves orient themselves to this new group? How did they perceive the education offered by them; what subtleties of inter-relationship grew between them? In short, what "worlds" did the three groups make for themselves in relation to education? How did they see their positions in these worlds? And how did they perceive the positions of the other groups?

Initially it is useful to adopt a social science theory as a framework in which this complicated series of inter-relationships can best be discussed. The influence of a group on the values, beliefs, and behaviours of other groups has been the subject of a considerable amount of socio-psychological research. The most useful line of inquiry is that of Reference Group Theory.[1] It is in the matter of the dynamics of group membership and the concept of self-esteem that reference group theory provides us with analytical power to deal with "the processes of evaluation and self-appraisal in which the individual takes the values or standards of other individuals and groups as a comparative frame of reference."[2] Reference group theory asks,

> Under which conditions are associates within one's own groups taken as a frame of reference for self-evaluation and attitude formation and under which conditions do out-groups or non-membership groups provide the significant frame of reference?[3] [and] It examines membership groups which operate as reference groups, the functions of positive orientation to non-membership groups, and the psychological and social functions of institutions regulating passage from one membership group to another.[4]

The significant reference group in this study is that of the missionaries and it is in relation to this group that the remainder of the chapter will keep in mind the major questions coming out of reference group theory. It will therefore discuss how the missionaries helped to create "worlds," or sets of perceptions and relationships, both for themselves and for the other two groups.

The World of the Missionaries

According to John Wray the planting class consisted chiefly of "deists, fornicators, tyrants, and sabbath breakers."[5] The very evangelical Anne Gilbert of Antigua had given a similar appraisal some years previous and had included other serious flaws in their characters — drunkenness, swearing, adultery, and dancing.[6] These, of course, were the vices attributed to non-Christians generally but the white class in the West Indies, it seemed, was particularly and notoriously immoral. It had few redeeming qualities in the minds of a British public and none at all in the minds of the missionaries.[7]

Although some planters had requested religious instruction and partially maintained, or housed, missionaries on their estates, it was soon realized by missionaries that planter class identifications were usually stronger than any religious sentiment. Thus, the CMS agents found the presence of Mr. Wildman, a planter, on the Jamaica

Auxiliary Committee, a stumbling block for it prevented them writing openly to the London society. If unsympathetic to planter interests the missionary frequently found himself in difficulties.[8] Between 1826-29 four CMS missionaries, Jones, Manning, Taylor and Collins, found themselves in awkward situations; each was compromised by their dependence on a planter such as Wildman. Jones' widow and three children were callously expelled by a planter because they were a "heavy expense and next to useless."[9] If such conduct emanated from a Christian gentleman who had requested religious instruction for his slaves, it does not require much imagination to speculate on the conduct expected from hostile planters. Planters mistrusted missionaries as canting dissemblers; missionaries distrusted planters as improbable sympathizers of missionary interests. Indeed, to Mr. Baxter it was so improbable that he doubted they ever gave money and support to missionaries and any suggestion of this was surely "a gross misrepresentation."[10]

Suggestions that the missionary life implied social aspiration and mobility must be put into this framework of missionary detestation of the white class in general and of the planters in particular. Missionaries simply did NOT view that influential class of men as desirable either to emulate or aspire to. In the context of evangelical fervour, non-Christians were deplored and nominal Christians barely tolerated. Their detestation of a class of fornicating, anti-sabbatarian reprobates, and slave owners to boot was undisguised.

If missionaries were conscious of their lowly social status at the same time they possessed a sense of spiritual stature. Thus, on the voyage to Jamaica the Stearne Journal reported that he and his wife were forced to "eat with Sir William Scarlett, and Sir Michael Clure and their ladies."[11] In turn they were treated with "politeness" and "condescension." They acknowledged that the esteemed company moved "in a sphere much above us." They refrained from joining in the dubious conversation at the table, however, not out of social insecurity, but rather with pointed disapproval. From the journal entry it is quite apparent that the two good souls were uncomfortable and out of their social depth. But they still believed themselves "better" than their betters! This example illustrates that the discomforts of an unfamiliar social situation do not necessarily indicate a sense of inferiority. Social ineptitude does not always imply social deference as the entry in the Journal further reveals.

The diary clearly demonstrates the Stearnes' disapproval of the wordliness, the gentility, and the immodest sophistication of the company. And as for the conversation, it was so unsuitable for evangelical ears that the main reason given for not entering into it was that "conscience will sometimes whisper guilty silence." Restraint was accompanied by disapproval. Yet had they spoken out, the remainder of the journey in the confined circumstances of a small vessel would have been decidedly unpleasant. As the Stearnes had said, they were "forced" to eat with them. This term can be taken as much as a sign of their repugnance as their deference. The Stearnes clearly saw themselves as morally and spiritually superior.

The paradox of the situation of a group of "godly mechanics" was that despite their humble social stations in a class conscious society they were far from being humble men. Like so many "saved" men before them it is probable that they were sanctimonious, prim, and often priggish. If young Burchell, who suffered and wept with guilt and anguish before he was saved, could write then, "Comparing myself with others I deemed I was better than many, still I was conscious I was not a Christian," it is not difficult to imagine his sense of spiritual worth after he became a Christian![12] To the planters it was excessively tiresome to be always at the receiving end of such moralizing, especially when the moralizers were rather humourless men, very conscious of their salvation. A pre-Victorian missionary sniff might have been ignored as one took a glass of port; a cold, disapproving missionary stare might have been laughed off as one was served at table by one's "housekeeper." But it must have been insufferable to have such men complaining to England's public figures in the Abolition Society or sermonizing to the slaves about the wickedness of their masters, or publishing exposes in the British press through the organs of their various missionary societies. One might find it difficult to forgive the planters moral callousness toward the slaves; but it is easy, however, to understand their very "human" annoyance under the circumstances.

Certain remarks such as were published in the Missionary Herald were hardly meant to pass unnoticed by the planters and certainly added to their hostility.

> Few places I think wrote one missionary, equal Jamaica for the number of its inhabitants in proportion to its extent, or for the ignorance in proportion to the number of inhabitants. 13

Similarly, Mr. Godden's sermon, preached at Spanish Town, in commemoration of the Great Earthquake of 1692, warned the congregation to expect worse unless the population reformed and repented.[14] The silliness of the sentiment did not hide the snideness of its moralizing tone, nor could it be mistaken at whom it was directed. Knibb wrote privately an opinion he did not hesitate to assert publicly that "the poor oppressed, benighted, and disgraced sons of Africa form a pleasing contrast to the debauched white population."[15] Wray also admitted to telling congregations of slaves the "duty" of the masters even when the master was present.[16] The missionaries, it seems, did not see anything bizarre in comparing the piety and morality of Christian slaves with the lack of these qualities in their masters. They were particularly vocal about the reluctance of planters to marry those women they had in their "keeping."

The missionaries avoided any intimate or unnecessary contact with the white population of unbelievers. If most of them, like the Stearnes, kept "guilty silence" as a group, this was because they were mindful of their tenuous position in the society. Their separateness was not only a refusal to participate in the corrupting wordliness about them but also a reflection of a certain amount of dependence upon the final goodwill of the planting class. It was also, on the positive side, a means of witnessing Christ Crucified by a rejection of those things which could seduce them into backsliding, such as prestige, affluence, frivolity, goodliving, and learning. Proud words could be heard from "humble" men. Wray, for example, scornfully and proudly rejected the wordliness of fine words and sentences and other indicators of learning. "They'll not hear them from me. I am quite unconcerned whether they call me learned or not."[17] And yet, planter approbation was necessary, for by a nod of the head or a shake of a fist, a planter could influence legislation which in turn affected the amount and quality of religious instruction. To incur the wrath of the planting class was foolishly to put one's mission in jeopardy and the work of other missions.

Spiritual smugness, in-group moralizing, and social aloofness were passive forms of identifying with the interest of their group — the small band of missionaries in the islands, and the more numerous evangelicals abroad. It was from these reference groups that they took their cues, their values, and their social norms. It was also into this group they married themselves and their children and baptized neophytes. The significant others were their leaders and their saints; there was no reference group taken from the "wordly" and certainly not from a group perceived by them as so obviously "damned" as were the planters.

The attitudes and behaviours of the missionaries support this claim and make their perceptions of the planters all the clearer. Dancing and feasting were disapproved of by all missionaries. According to Wray, "dancing, drinking and drumming"[18] clearly led to all manner of unspeakable evils and none less than fornication, and another missionary from the CMS pointed out; "It is customary here to attend parties and feasting and because I have not given up to the same excess of riot they no doubt call me a fanatic."[19] Official clergymen were slandered often with the same lack of discrimination as were planters. Thus, Wray criticized a Dutch Clergyman in Berbice because he fancied he would unite with negro girls as did the Episcopalian clergy.[20]

"Tea parties" were approved of no more than "benna dancing" apparently because of the trivial conversation and the wordly company which attended them.[21] The Antiguan Methodists were appalled that the Bishop attended the crop-time dances where the negroes impersonated whites, dressing ostentatiously and wearing jewelry. They would dress up as Sir Benjamin D'Urban or the Bishop "in his canonicals." These negro balls, attended by the "king's pastor" were riotous occasions and because of them the negroes were seen as becoming "unsainted." In the carnival spirit they were even encouraged to borrow the owner's horses and gigs. It is doubtful whether the same negroes at these carnivals would have dressed up as Methodists whose attire was deliberately plain. Thus, Mr. Thwaites of the CMS was perceived by the Bishop as "half a methodist" and his wife was "a downright one and proclaiming it in her dress."[22] But better to be plainly dressed than associated with the Crown Houses of Demerara, which were "complete brothels, a scene of wickedness and vice, a receptacle of soldiers and sailors of the lowest classes of whites and others."[23]

This puritan rigidity of the missionaries demonstrates how determined they were not to approve of the world, the flesh, and the devil. When one of their brethren relaxed, they quickly reprimanded him and gave into the irresistible temptation of informing the home society. The degree of their malice in these cases is often quite startling. Brother Elliott, after much antagonism, was finally accused of not being beyond "taking a glass of grog in the evening with an enemy."[24] The missionaries insisted on speaking of "drunken and whoring managers" so that this class of men might clearly understand that theirs was the social intimacy the missionaries least wanted.[25] Charles Carter described his residence as being some distance from the Manager's "and though we are on very friendly terms yet intimacy will not do."[26] The Antiguan missionaries were surrounded, it seems, by "libidinous planters" and "debauched females," gambling, obeah, and "all other consequent horrors."[27]

The usual evangelical contempt for the world was no doubt exaggerated in the West Indies where marriage was rare and "fornication" rife. But it was not only that. The evangelical world is in a constantly beseiged state and evangelicals did not pretend that the flesh and the devil were not real sources of anxiety and temptation. Beset by their own demons, missionary moralizing and rigidity were but a constant expression both of a determination to reject these demons and a stern obstinacy not to fall. Without the clearcut convictions and support of their own reference group a missionary could "soon lose his piety" in the West Indies.[28]. This is most apparent in the correspondence over the matter of marriage. Wray had begged for Miss Ashford, his fiancee, to join him not for "self-gratification" but to be "kept from dishonouring God."[29]

Dishonouring God meant dishonouring themselves as Christ's "called," dishonouring their brethren, their cause, and their Society. The worst that could happen to them was to be recalled by the

Society or expelled by one of their own brethren for improper conduct. This, in fact, happened to the unfortunate Brother Hurst, a Methodist in Antigua, who pressed his amourous attentions on several ladies with the desire to marry and wrote an indiscreet letter to one of the ladies who thought him quite mad.[30] Generally though, there were surprisingly few such lapses and indiscretions, or at least few which were recorded.[31]

The missionaries saw in the planters, and in their sins and moral failings, the signs of the degeneracy and temptations which they feared in themselves. This helps us understand their outrage when they encountered apostacy or backsliding among Christians or their own brethren. Not all missionaries, it is true, approved of this "forbidding aspect" and disliked it when they, as serious Christians, were required to sit themselves "in the place of a censor."[32] William Knibb was such a reluctant missionary. Having acknowledged that his own besetting sin was that of "levity," he gently demurred that religion consists "in that affability and kindness which is calculated to win the affections of those with whom the possession of it is surrounded."[33]

The hostile attitudes of missionaries towards the planters in fact made their own position seem more virtuous. The worse the other group appeared, the more sure of their own virtue they themselves felt. Without consciously articulating it the missionaries were therefore dependent upon the planters as a group against which they might compare themselves and by the comparison increase their sense of self-esteem and self-righteousness. As Merton reminds us, "it is then the case that former members of a group, often convert it into a negative reference group toward which they are dependently hostile rather than simply indifferent."[34] It is, however, when one keeps closely in mind the missionary mentality towards the planters and the white class, that one realizes how unlikely it would have been for missionaries to have aspired to become part of that world or that group of men whose values they utterly despised.

Just as firmly as they did not approve of the planters' morals they disapproved of their racial attitudes and particularly when matters of race and morality coincided. As William Knibb asserted, "I look upon the question of slavery as one of religion and morality. All I ask is that my African brother may stand in the family of man."[35] That a missionary would make such a plea is scarcely astonishing. But to planters it smelled distastefully of an egalitarianism they could neither withstand nor understand. However, the stance taken by missionaries, although altogether singular in its liberalism, was never as liberal as some might have thought. To what extent did the missionary world cross "race lines?"

Christian egalitarianism, even the most sincere kind, was not nearly as radical as the planters suspected. Missionaries, it is true, were "ahead of their time" but, being men of their time they could not but help reflect many of the prevailing beliefs. Their attitudes toward race differed to that of the planters in degree rather than principle. Christianity's message of spiritual and moral equality seemed on the surface to imply social and political equity. The missionaries believed and acted upon the belief that negroes and

Slaves were equally fallen with white men, equally called to redemption, equally capable of spiritual grace and regeneration and equally able to live moral lives as a consequence of conversion. The lack of religious instruction and ignorance were the only impediments to this kind of equality. The planters, however, saw the missionaries living in close community with slaves, visiting their homes, playing with their children, comforting their bereaved, caring for their sick and educating their youth; not unnaturally they mistook this essential charity of Christianity for social, political, and economic radicalism.

In fact, missionary attitudes toward race were ambivalent. On matters spiritual they believed and acted in accordance with the principle of equality. For instance, the Antiguan Methodists never hesitated to accept as leaders such Coloureds as the Moores, Gilberts, Thwaites, and Lynches. The 1819 Conference considered the practice in Nova Scotia of keeping Coloureds and Blacks back from the Lord's table until after the whites had communed as "contrary to the nature of the Lord's Supper by which the communion of Saints is expressed."[36] The 1825 Conference reconfirmed its convictions and declared such practices "merely on account of their colour" as "wholly inconsistent with Christianity."[37]

However, in matters of the "body" a different set of beliefs pertained. Thus, if the "communion of saints" was the ordinance which particularly defined Christian fraternity, this did not necessarily extend to miscegenation. The decision of the Wesleyan Committee in Antigua, 1811, demonstrates this point. Brother Dowson, a white missionary, was advised to give up his liaison with Miss

Moore, a zealous, able, and free woman of colour, and reconsider his desire for marriage because "Conference would probably not approve."[38] Although Conference was not put to the test, it was probably a correct assumption to make and the Antiguan brethren themselves deemed the advice not only politic but highly desirable.

Miscegenation, a delicate issue in the nineteenth century, was not ordinarily discussed in West Indian correspondence except to condemn it, without the sanction of marriage. The missionaries themselves did not cross race lines over matters of either sex or marriage which indicates how they had assimilated the strong taboos of their time, despite Christian convictions. However, the missionaries agreed with James Stephen's remark, "If a man does not think a woman too ugly to make her his mistress it cannot be on account of her ugliness that he does not make her his wife."[39]

The reluctance of planters to marry then was due to "political and moral circumstances,"[40] but the missionaries insisted that if unlawful unions were entered into then marriage must result. In fact, they were not so much demanding marriage or encouraging miscegenation as they were insisting upon abstention and continence. Given the lack of either virtue in the sugar colonies, and being practical men, marriage was viewed as the only honourable course of action.

Although missionaries would have preferred no miscegenation, if and when it did occur, it must at least be sacramentalized. The missionaries instinctively knew that the sexual exploitation of female slaves was hardly the path to any sort of equality or humanization, any more than the offspring of such unions modified racial attitudes. They recognized that the ideas that consumnation eradicates contempt or that conception eradicates racism were patently whimsical. As the numbers of marriages which occurred were so few, social equality could not be affected by coupling. Therefore they could not condemn the planter's conduct on the matter strongly enough.

Missionary views of planter miscegenation were thus due less to any advanced views than it was to their attempts to publicly shame that class; nevertheless, missionaries did feel uneasy with planters' attitudes towards Coloureds who attended the same churches. John Wray unhappily commented,

> White men and coloured women sleep together and live together in fornication - but they will not sit together in God's house, though they must both be saved by the same saviour. 41

Still, under such a battery of criticism planters could not have comprehended the missionaries' ambivalent attitudes over matters of race. William Knibb typified the missionaries' ambivalence when he, that well-known defender of the negro cause, was reluctant to allow his newborn twins to have a black wet-nurse.[42]

It must be agreed that racism can be a matter of degree and takes many forms, some more insidious than others. On most matters except sexuality the missionaries were obviously less racist than the white society. And yet, although the WMMS gave its approval of the appointment of Coloureds as catechists, it considered their employment as local preachers a matter of "distinct difference," which reveals that ideas of Christian equality were different to the social implementation of it. Nevertheless, the words "I find them teachable and loveable" printed boldly in the *Methodist Magazine* (1800)[43] represented fairly the missionary's attitudes toward the slave. William Knibb agreed he found the slaves "awfully depraved" but added sincerely "*but I love them.*" The slave children were described by him as "little dears" who leapt and danced because "a negro must express his joy."[44]

In this point alone - the matter of love - the missionaries were set apart from rigid race lines. This, combined with a respect for the negro's capacity for learning, made them disagree that negroes were "inferior beings made for and suited to their present employment."[45] There was nothing the slave saw his "fairer brother do but what he can at once mimic and of course, perform it as well if he had the same opportunity."[46] Such a view cannot be underestimated in a society which saw the negro as little above the ape. The world the missionary made in the West Indies was the creation of their peculiar mentality, that is, of how they saw men in relation to God and men in relation to each other. This world allowed for an entry of the slave into the larger society and on a somewhat equal footing. The world the missionary made presented a forbidding aspect to the planters who viewed it with suspicion and hostility for their world in no way could encompass such an entry.

Spiritual equality, the recognition of the negro's moral and intellectual faculties, and the belief in the necessity of the provision of minimal literacy and leadership training, were the major influences of missionary education. This education was the logical extension of the missionary world just as evangelization was the logical extension of the missionary mentality. To save the poor heathen, school-rooms were built and religious instruction was given, often in the forms of reading and writing. These were matters of no little significance to planters and slaves alike. Missionary provision of education was bound to affect the social order and change the worlds of the other historical actors. Education set the stage for a new drama, the chief actors being the educators, with all others taking cues from them. In a study relating to education in a slave society, the significant reference group must be the providers of that education.

The World of the Planters

The contempt the missionaries had for the planters was reciprocated. The planters no more desired the company of these enthusiasts than the enthusiasts desired theirs! The planters saw the missionaries as "extremely illiterate"[47] and their religious views contemptible. Revivalism was scarcely understood in England where it had swept the country-side; it could hardly be any better understood in the colonies where it was more sporadic, extraordinary, and culturally obtrusive. Thus, Thomas Burchell was quite right when he observed that "no Englishman . . . would be treated with as much contempt"[48] as a missionary was by planters.

The planters as well as their overseers, attorneys, bookkeepers and managers did not approve, any more than Mr. Van Cooten of Demerara, of the willingness of missionaries to "ingratiate themselves with the lower class, the illiterate part of the people."[49] They did not view missionaries as being well-born; neither could they sympathize with the unprecedented example of a group of men who deliberately sought out the lowest stratum of society, and identified with its interests. To then moralize about the highest strata of that society proved intolerable. One missionary even went so far as to preach that colour was no consequence "for the white man will be burning in hell" while Christian slaves would be "enjoying blessings in heaven."[50]

Planters saw the missionaries as intruders in the social order, as interfering prigs, who, while moralizing about planter immorality, were not above some duplicity themselves in the form of reporting back to England about planter conduct.[51] Although some planters realized the usefulness of religious intruction in pacifying slaves and some even praised the work of the missionaries, generally they saw it as a breaking down of the firmly established class and race structures of slave society.

It has already been observed that miscegenation of which the planters were so fond was not in any way viewed as implying social "equality;" neither can it be construed as any real indicator of the relaxation of class or race lines. The white class, it is true, drew back only from marriage, but it is in the area of sexuality that strict social norms most commonly break down when the human libido is subject to several peculiar conditions. These conditions may include an inaccessibility of socially "acceptable" female company, a disorganization of previous societal structures, and an abundance of exploitable and socially "inferior" females. All three conditions pertained to West Indian slave society. The planters' tacit approval of miscegenation was, however, by no means any indicator of equality. Marriage was rarely entertained, despite an indulgent attitude towards sexual activity between the two classes of beings, slaves and free men. To planters, the insane insistence of missionaries upon marriage was merely further evidence that missionaries wanted to bring about a disintegration of the social order. Only rarely did planters see missionaries as logical appendages of themselves or even as preservers of social order.

Thus, the West Indian press, representing planter interests and dominant white ideology, was virulent against the missionaries. The press, time and time again, clearly demonstrated its attitudes toward any form of racial equality. Slaves and free coloureds were seen as "barbarians" and any move towards their social or political equality as "a privilege to ravage and murder."[52] The press viciously slandered missionaries and saw their preaching to that "good for nothing race of beings," those "free black dandies," those "sable skinned danglers," as a pernicious plot to erode social order.[53]

Despite their intentions to inject new values and beliefs into the social body, missionaries have been seen as conserving forces. The usual interpretation of missionary activity prior to Emancipation is that it was a conservative force. In fact, the preceding examination of the nature of their religious instruction tends to support this view. But if this was so, then it remains to ask why the planters were antagonistic toward them sometimes to the point of harrassment and persecution? They clearly saw the missionaries as intruders, disruptive of the natural order of things, and downright subversive of social order.

To what extent were these perceptions accurate? Were the missionaries merely reinforcing the social order? Why did planters see them as a threat and use them as a scapegoat? And finally if planter perceptions shaped planter behaviour, what kinds of planter responses resulted from missionary presence?

For approximately three decades it might be agreed that the missionaries appeared to support the plantation economic and social order. Certainly the explicit instructions given to the missionaries from their home-based societies tend to reinforce this observation. The first instructions given to missionaries between 1803 and 1813 gave clear directives about non-interference and later instructions did not alter in intent or content up until the thirties. The BMS warned John Rowe in 1813

> We wish to have no dominion over you but . . . you are going amongst a people in a state of slavery, and require to beware lest your feelings for them should lead you to say or do anything inconsistent with christian duty. 55

The LMS cautioned its missionaries in the pages of the Quarterly Chronicle in 1815

> . . . the masters of slaves are unfriendly to their instruction, or at least they are jealous, lest there be any mismanagement on the part of the missionaries or misunderstanding on the part of the negroes, the public peace and safety should be endangered. You must take the utmost care to prevent the possibility of this evil - not a word must escape from you in public or in private, which might render the slaves displeased with their masters or dissatisfied with their stations. 56

In 1828 Joshua Wood of the CMS was warned to "scrupulously abstain from secular concerns and political affairs."[57] Another CMS missionary Rev. Betts had been told at a public meeting to "honor the civil magistrate" and to seek only to "diffuse Christian knowledge."[58] This was in accord with the Wesleyan admonition for missionaries to "fear God and Honour the King" and to use peculiar circumspection and prudence. The Wesleyans, as late as 1831, were admonished not to publish any observations on civil matters unless they were called upon to witness by lawful authority or before government commissions.[59]

Nevertheless, the planters were not beguiled by rhetoric such as this.[60] They early perceived that the missionaries' actions might be at variance to the instructions given them. Quickly they saw that despite indignant denials of belonging to the Abolition Society, the missionaries were obviously sympathetic to it.[61] And if at first missionaries tried to pacify planters by being conciliatory to slavery, this, it can be argued, was so they might gain a foothold in a society reluctant to christianize the slaves.

Of particular concern to the planters were the social and political implications of teaching reading. "Could it be done safely? Could slaves be educated and intelligent, yet continue docile and obedient? . . . Read the bible, then the newspaper, till they grow discontented, rebel, and burn the country."[62] The missionaries claimed it could be done safely; the planters knew that in the long run that it could not. Given their hostilities toward missionary activity it is not surprising that they withheld licences to preach and to teach and levied fines for breaches of repressive ordinances. For example, the Consolidated Slave Act of Jamaica, 22nd of December, 1826, forbade the "assembly of slaves and other persons after dark, at places of meeting belonging to dissenters . . . ."[63] As evening classes were the result of the excessive hours of labour, times "after dark" was often the only convenient time to give instruction or to receive it.

The planters were as unreceptive to an education which taught any form of equality between slave and master as one which included reading. They saw social stability being threatened as much by the assumptions behind missionary education as by the practice of it. Doctrines of spiritual equality exposed the contradiction inherent in slave societies. As the planters correctly recognized, teach a slave he is loveable in the sight of God and he was bound to become "uppity." Teach a slave that his soul is worth as much to God as the soul of a white man and he will start to wonder about his condition. Teach a slave that Christ came to save all men and he will begin to wonder why some men deserve to own slaves while others deserve to be slaves. It was not surprizing that the planters, with exasperation, could murmur about "the missionary business here" and barely tolerate the missionary presence.[64]

Planters did not doubt that the missionaries desired that social equality and spiritual equality should become one and the same. They construed that even the choice of hymns pointed in this direction as The Guinae Chronicle and Demerara Gazette in 1824 indicated. The following words were too direct to be explained away in a slave society as theological metaphor.

> O! When shall Afric's sable sons,
> Enjoy the heavenly word;
> And vassals long enslav'd become,
> The Freed men of the Lord. 65

Words such as these were seen as an open threat to social order and the more so if slaves could not only memorize them but read them too.

If the planters could have been assured that strict catechetical instruction only was being taught they may have been more inclined to ignore the missionary presence. But they realized that teaching the slave to read the scriptures was part and parcel of evangelical Protestantism and missionaries would not content themselves with capturing the negro understanding "through imagination and affections" without reading skills accompanying these.[66]

John Smith, the LMS martyr-missionary, expressed accurately how planters perceived the teachings of the missionary group. Even those who were not "violent" against them and did not question the original intention to make better slaves and inculcate submission and similar dispositions, feared that education would "ultimately have a bad effect."[67] The most innocuous education was merely a first step to creating a more self-conscious group of subservients and "the great body of Colonists" therefore were "resolutely opposed" to any sort of instruction. They knew that "Christianity and slavery cannot long exist together."[68]

Missionary complaints of planter breach of faith after the melioration programs in the twenties and publicly voiced grievances about harrassment aggravated planters further. The planters believed they were fighting for their very social order and distrusted these "godly mechanics." The result was official complaints to the Colonial Office, government investigations, virulent press reaction, imprisonment of Wesleyans, actions of libel, and a general clashing of wills. The missionaries, however, were almost as active. Of seven cases brought before the Colonial Office after 1823 two dealt with the slaves's right to practice Christianity.[69] These planter perceptions of missionaries breaking up the existing order provided the background to the bloody Jamaica Rebellion.[70]

It was not accidental that the planters viewed the Native Baptists as the chief instigators of the 1831 rebellion. In fact, this perception was by and large correct if one considers that the western parishes where the missions were the most numerous contributed many participants to the rebellion. This area had various independent religious organizations which reputedly modelled themselves on mission structures. After the rebellion was swiftly put down, with 312 slaves executed, Lord Mulgrove wrote to Lord Goderich his impressions. They accurately reflected planter perceptions.

> With the population of most of the town so restless, the greater part of whom is exasperated to the last degree against the baptist missionaries, whom they firmly believe to have been at the bottom of the rebellion, and on the other hand with the violent conduct of some of the fanatics among these missionaries who seem to court the condition of martyrs, one cannot but fear the possibility of some violent collision. 71

The feared collision did not come even though the reactionary Colonial Church Union tempted it by persecuting missionaries. Instead Emancipation occurred in 1833 after the members of the

Union in vigilante style extended reprisals and harrassment to Christian slaves and missionaries.

Before the death-blow to slavery finally came, however, the planters perceived that slavery could only remain if carefully buttressed by ignorance and power. They understood with frightful clarity that slavery depended upon a system in which one group of privileged men had the monopoly not only of power and wealth but also of education. The Colonist of February 18, 1824, summed up their views.

> We have no desire to treat the Africans with undue rigor, but we cannot be ignorant that our power over them can exist only so long as we are the highly educated . . . It is not a matter of surprise that a negro slave who is taught that all men are equal in a religious point of view, should wish the same principle to prevail in politics. The obvious conclusion is this — SLAVERY MUST EXIST AS IT IS NOW, OR IT WILL NOT EXIST AT ALL.

There can be cited a veritable litany of reasons why the planters opposed missionaries, destroyed chapels, hounded preachers, and spied upon their services and schools. This list might well include the militancy of missionaries, (such as Knibb and Burchell who campaigned for emancipation in England prior to 1833); the missionary exclusion from militia duty even in times of rebellion; the teaching of reading despite assurance to the contrary; the sabbatarian campaigns which attempted to keep slaves from labour even during crop-time when they were most needed; and finally the perceived ignorance of the missionaries themselves. None of these alone is a sufficient reason for so violent a planter reaction but all of them can be incorporated into one common fear.

The planters realized that merely by his presence the missionary was influencing the society to be other than it was. In viewing the missionary and planter experience at the end of the eighteenth century, one must thus raise an eyebrow at a statement such as the following one made by Professor Goveia.

> Though the missionaries deliberately stood somewhat apart from the local white society at the end of the eighteenth century, they were nevertheless contributing an active and powerful reinforcement to the many sanctions already making for the internal stability of the slave system. For far from being a threat to the social order, the increase of the Christian missions was calculated to maintain and strengthen slave society.[72]

Although they inculcated traditional moral values related to conservative religion, the effects of missionary influence cannot be seen as conserving the old order. Despite their intentions, missionaries provided a rudimentary education for parts of the slave population. This alone, rather than conserving the status quo, contributed to social change. Consequences are historically more significant than intentions. Whether they intended it or not, their presence, their teachings, their assumptions, and their practices made them significant change-agents and innovators in a new social order. The resultant imposition of new values was the consequence of missionary education and the numbers of slaves converted is of less importance than the number of slaves taught to read. As one Methodist sagely observed, "If knowledge has power . . . nothing can prevent the creole negroe from gaining that power while he has intercourse, with those who possess it."[73]

How then did slaves perceive the missionaries in this process and what perceptions might be attributed to the slaves in relation to the education they received? What significance did the missionaries give to the slaves as a group? To understand why and how some slaves oriented themselves to groups "other than their own in shaping their behaviour and evaluations"[74] is to understand how they were able to alter a negative personification of themselves.[75]

The World of the Slaves

Certain slaves responded warmly to the personalized relationship necessary between missionary and potential convert. In granting the slaves a humanness usually denied them the missions provided a sense of status to a group of slaves who thus came to identify as members of a particular Christian community. This sense of status was enhanced by the desegregated congregations where white, black slave and free coloured, could freely mix, despite the "offensiveness" of this to the broader society.[76]

All missionaries, with the exception of the Wesleyans who operated on the "itinerant plan," had sustained and direct contact with the slaves they ministered to. Even the Wesleyans recognized the desirability of having a permanent base of operation with its personal interest and sympathetic response. They considered slaves as especially needing "a stable shepherd in whom they could trust."[77] The enthusiasm of the slave response, in part, can be understood in connection with the interest they felt missionaries had in their welfare. The Colonist, October 16, 1823, noted this reason for slave response to missionaries.

> For a white man and a minister to take a negro slave by the hand, and ask him how he does is a compliment

> which he seldom meets with and can very rarely expect; to address a promiscuous audience of black and coloured people, bond and free, christians and heathens, by the endearing appellation of "My brothers and sisters" is what can be nowhere heard except in Providence Chapel, or peraventure in Ebenezer Chapel. 78

In a sermon preached on August 8, 1817, John Smith de-emphasized the promise of "deliverance from the land of Canaan" because he was "apprehensive that the negroes might put such a construction upon it" as would include ideas of emancipation.[79] Undoubtedly slaves did make such connections even with the de-emphasis of content such as Pharoah and Moses in Egypt. Despite the fact there were ideas of salvation other than analogies about freedom from slavery[80] the implicit message of equality within Christianity must have proved a major attraction to slaves. It is not difficult to imagine how statements such as the following one made by a CMS missionary were translated into actions which were caring and concerned, nor how some slave sensibilities responded to such concern.

> But if our christian brethren - mean, wretched, and helpless, as in their outward condition - are indeed united by a living faith unto Christ our common head, so as to be regarded by HIM AS HIS BRETHREN, it is nothing to us that they are subjected to treatment worse than ought ever be inflicted even on the beast that perish.[81]

Apart from the personal relationship established between missionary and slave, there are several other plausible reasons why certain slaves became Christians or, more simply, merely attended mission schools or services. The following reasons are worth considering; all of them shedding light on the slave's perceptions of his experiences.

Firstly, the African religious structures had broken down and Christianity was seen as an acceptable substitute. Secondly, the missions provided self identity, social cohesion, and group identification. Thirdly, the christian religion provided a means of leadership for slaves among themselves. A fourth reason was possibly that social approval from significant others could be obtained by emulating white religion and adopting white values.[82]

With regard to the first reason, that Christianity met the slaves' religious needs, the following comments can be made. Slave society retained semblances of African religious belief systems such as Obeahism and Myalism but these had disintegrated in the trauma of capture, enslavement, and seasoning. The mixture of African peoples and the differences between their beliefs and practices meant that the traditional Africanisms were abandoned or greatly modified in the adaption necessary for survival in unfamiliar environment and circumstances. Religious custom is functional and evolves out of a given people's culture, language, territory, and occupations. Beliefs that were previously adhered to were undervalued to the point of contempt by the dominant group in the new situation. This led to a deterioration of their importance and functionality. The fusion of culture and religion is always a delicate balance and a shift of experience to a different geography, climate and society, can disrupt the "logic" of religious expression. Apart from the psychological trauma of bondage, there was also the simple fact that time was now spent in ways other than in Africa. The new regimen was one of harsh physical labour from dawn to dusk.

The development of a new set of sophisticated rules, customs and spiritual nuances was a slow process which was further slowed down by the mixture of languages, tribes, beliefs and customs. Those people who had not fully adapted to the Creole culture must have experienced acute alienation in a situation where matters of will and choice were taken away from them. The Creole slaves were often the offspring of insecure and mixed unions with a strained sense of cultural continuity. A further disintegrative force must have consisted in the appalling morbidity and mortality rates among the slave population.

A number of slaves were able to identify with the missionaries partly because they were able to "define themselves as 'members' [having] patterned expectations of forms of interaction which were morally binding on them and other members."[83] To a group of men at the very bottom of the social order this sense of membership provided them with rules they could acquiesce to voluntarily, as distinct from those rules arbitrarily imposed upon them as bondsmen. To act with volition and to choose membership in another group was a form of psychological and social bonding. Comparing themselves with others normally led to an "invidious self-depreciation;"[84] they could more easily identify with a group that represented attainable goals exemplified in the tenets of the christian religion.

The second reason for slave identification with missionaries and their perceptions of their own christianization might best be summarized in the term "community." In meeting the cultural and religious needs of slaves Christianity provided a sense of community. Exploitation, an imbalanced sex ratio, multiple associations, and

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unstable unions contributed to a breakdown of sexual and social mores. Mothers provided the major role for children to model themselves on and even this model was neither secure nor permanent in West Indian society. Both the supply of slaves and the numbers of each sex were controlled by the owners with little respect for affectionate or familial ties. The masters could sell the slave involved in a "firmed" union and thus further weakened any tendency toward monogamous semi-permanent family groupings.[85] In the case of West Indian slavery the failure of slaves to reproduce themselves is a sure indicator that these conditions were not condusive to cohesion or stability.[86] A rapid decline in cultural identity resulted in a psychological "anomie" and estranged African slaves from any sense of autonomy apart from total dependence on their masters.

A sense of cohesion, affiliation, and identity developed around a mission and often it developed around a particular missionary. As they ceased to recall their former ways of life, either in relation to themselves or in relation to the successive Creole generations, Christianity began to fill in the gaps, providing a broader social context than their immediate slave community. Discredited by the planting class and the official church, slaves who became Christians were able vicariously to enter the white world; the one which they identified with power. The mission was often a close knit group of slaves with interests other than the common bond of their slavery. The drama and rituals of conversion and baptism assisted in this community identification. The Baptist ceremonies were spectacularly conducted, sometimes involving fifty or more converts at a time dressed in white and undergoing immersion in rivers and streams. They were occasions for emotional outlet and aesthetic excitement. Man does not live by bread alone and this new community also provided slaves with opportunities hitherto repressed by bondage, those of emotional self expression, a sense of "escape" into a world unfettered by whiplash and backbreaking grind; a world of rhythm, of narrative, of imagination and of psychological sublimation.[87] E. P. Thompson's observations on the emotional satisfaction which Methodism provided the English working classes may well apply to the slaves of the British West Indies. To be able passionately and publicly to emote with "Hallelujahs and Amens" must have been a psychologically satisfying experience to a people systematically repressed and starved for legitimately expressed emotions. Enthusiastic religion provided them with an authentic outlet for their emotions and a means by which they could be heard. A love-feast was as much a social event as a religious one. The slaves, dressed in their best and "moved by the Lord" were "anxious to witness all at once." If prevented from speaking they were sorely "disappointed."[88] Finally where family life was so disrupted and disrespected, the finding of community was, in a sense, a finding of an extended "family" in religious affiliation.

It is rare to have a community without its leaders. The missionaries in this case provided leadership but also their presence legitimized other leaders from among the slaves themselves. This observation introduces the third reason for slave identification with Christianity. The argument has been made that Methodist bands, societies, discipline and structures of organization served the British working class as an apprenticeship for future secular leadership. There is a similar possibility that the missions were a training ground for developing speechmaking skills and leadership qualities. The missions not only allowed the slave to become catechists, elders, deacons, and on occasion, ministers, but offered the training and knowledge for this to happen. The slave community still had its "obeah man" who was feared and sometimes respected, but he was neither a universally nor publicly acceptable leader. The leaders who came out of the churches were inculcated with the sense of those qualities valued by the dominant class (even if not always practised by that class) such as industry, respect, sobriety, honesty, and frugality. Moreover, the christianized slave was seen as more dependable than his unchristianized peers, and was often placed in positions of peer trust.

These qualities of leadership were not just unadulterated "emulation" of white values. The slave possessed the ability to develop more general leadership qualities, an ability clearly seen in times of political backlash. Thus, Quameno, Talemaqua, and General Jack, who were members of John Smith's chapel, were set apart as possible leaders in the 1823 slave revolt in Demerara. Ironically those qualities that identified the slave as trustworthy during less turbulent times were those which led to his persecution in times of revolt. The christianized slave had a certain amount of education which made the white class view him with suspicion for it was he who was most likely to have the interest and skills to organize other slaves into conspiracy and revolt.

It is apparent from the correspondence between the societies and their missionaries that native participation in the conduct of their churches was to be encouraged. Moreover it was also stressed that native leaders were eventually needed to take over the missions themselves. In Antigua in 1820, Charles Thwaites developed a system by which twelve adult negroes were appointed "inspectors" on the Hope Estate, subject to annual election. Their duties required them to superintend the night school, the morals of society members and the children on the estate. They were required to meet monthly and give reports.[89] A letter written by the literate and intelligent negroes, Quamina, Satin, Bristel, and Asaar, to the secretary of the LMS expressed gratitude for the missionary sent to them, especially as "he fall upon a plan every sabbath morning before service, those that can read go teaching the congregation and we find that improve a great deal . . . ."[90]

The fourth reason for the willingness of the slave to become christianized may have been merely a matter of "expediency." In fact, most of the preceding reasons may well be subsumed under such a heading. There was little doubt that in the eyes of white society to become a practising Christian was the first step to becoming civilized. By identifying publicly with white values the slave may have gained either some favours or some status. In addition, he might have identified religious knowledge with other bodies of knowledge necessary for "getting on" in white society, for religious knowledge was part of curricula in schools other than mission schools.

Such knowledge could have been seen as a stepping stone to respect and social position, and as an instrument for understanding, and initiation into, the mysteries of white culture.

Of course many christianized slaves were not leaders and undoubtedly among those who were some resembled "Quashee" rather than some negro Spartacus. Nevertheless, the acceptance that among all orders of men there are varying degrees of heroism, does not denigrate those who were like Quashee - subservient, deferential, and perferably good humoured. If the slave, Christian or not, assumed the kinds of demeanours expected of him, it was likely he fully understood that the opposite qualities of defiance, independence, and surliness would be punished.[91] The majority of slaves, like other humans, did not find heroism in torture, beatings, torment, or whipping; submission was a way of avoiding such treatment and Christianity provided both a justification for the submission and an emotional support.

Slave society was as clearly differentiated as the white society on which it so crudely modelled itself. At the apex of slave society was the hired-out artisan and the light skinned domestics and concubines.[92] The degrees of colour, of Creolism or Africanism, and the type of labour provided clear cut distinctions recognized among slaves, the lowest of whom was the praedial, or field labourer. An identification with the white class by becoming a Christian might have appeared to be a closer approximation to this class. A field hand particularly must have been tempted to raise his social status in this way and more particularly by gaining some knowledge and perhaps by learning to read. He could distinguish himself with some level of literacy, no matter how low. Literacy was both a measure of status and the means by which much of white society could be comprehended. Even in those missions where only oral instruction occurred, christian beliefs were seen to be among the most sacred of white society.

The extent to which christianized slaves identified with the missionary and his embracing the christian faith are not understandable unless it is conceded that while social control was both a goal and a result of Christianization it could not have been the only goal and result. The missionaries taught and practised a different relationship between themselves as whites and the slaves as blacks. To the generally accepted race and caste lines they offered a relationship which entailed a brotherhood of sinners and an equal necessity for salvation. In the practice of these beliefs they established bonds of loyalty, based not on fear or identification with the oppressor, but on love and trust. This is not to deny that missionaries, as any group of men, had their foibles, follies, frailties and failures. In no small measure Western Indian slaves were christianized for the same reasons as so many American slaves, a reason that has been summarized by Eugene Genovese.

> The slaves did not often accept professions of white sincerity at face value . . . white preaching could have a degree of conservative political effectiveness only when the slaves could accept the sincerity of the gesture. 93

So far in this study, the significance of socio-psychological or economic motives in explaining missionary behaviour has been treated as minimal. In the case of the slaves they have been treated as having major importance. Missionaries saw their reference group and significant others in their own terms; slaves by the logic of their condition, saw their significant others in terms of the more influential groups. Slaves were obliged to use outside criteria in making their references. Christian slaves, in socially and psychologically limited circumstances and inhabiting a society where mobility was minimal, took upon themselves the values and behaviours of missionaries. This was actively to choose the route to self-respect and social dignity.

Conclusion

Missionaries made their world a bastion against white society, a world with its own rationale, perceptions, and direction; a world, the significant elements of which consisted of schools and churches, both vehicles of social change, a world which professed and practised the means to certain forms of spiritual and social equality.

This world in turn influenced the world of the planters. Previously it had been a comfortable, ordered, unquestioned world of slaves who knew their place and masters who could be paternalistic or cruel, a world where reading was one of the distinctions of power and privilege. The missionary had in a few short years made it one of jeopardy and hostility, one of active repression and suspicion. The missionary threat came at the same times as Abolitionist pressure.

The world the missionary made for the christian slave was one which offered cohesion, resonableness in unreasonable circumstances, some mobility, and leadership and renewed feelings of self worth. Christian slaves were co-operators in this world, not merely passive recipients of white values, or unperceptive pawns in a missionary social control conspiracy.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

[1] Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (revised ed.; Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957); George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self and Society* (University of Chicago Press: Phoenix Books, 1967); and Harry Stack Sullivan, *The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1953).

[2] Merton, p. 234.

[3] Ibid., p. 233. [4] Ibid., p. 236.

[5] Wray to Directors, February 6, 1813, Box 1A, Br. G/B (1813-22) LMSA.

[6] Anne Gilbert to Rev. Richard Pattison, Item 37, *West Indies Box 1803-13*, WMMSA.

[7] A contemporary view on the matter of J. B. Moreton, *Manners and Customs of the West India Islands* (London, 1790). A literary example is a play *The West Indian* by Richard Cumberland (1771), which is discussed with many other examples of the British attitude toward the West Indian "nabobs" in Joseph Donohue Junior, *Dramatic Character in the English Romantic Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), and Jack Gratus, *The Great White Lie* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973).

[8] Stearne to Coates, July 19, 1830, observed that one of the CMS Auxiliary Committee had "a brother who fills the office as an overseer on an estate I visit - another brother is attorney for the estate upon which I reside." CW/050/3, CMSA.

[9] Wildman to Coates, December 25, 1827, CW/091/4 and March 18, 1828, CW/091/5, CMSA.

[10] Baxter to Butterworth, July 23, 1804, Item 56, *West Indies Box 1803-14*, WMMSA.

[11] Stearne's Journal (1829), CW/080/12, P. 4, CMSA

[12] William F. Burchell, Memoir of Thomas Burchell (London, 1849), p. 8.

[13] Missionary Herald 10 (October 1819): 82-83.

[14] Missionary Herald 12 (October 1820): 80.

[15] Knibb to S. Nicholls, March 1825, W1/3, BMSA.

[16] Wray to Burder, January 11, 1816, Br. G/B (1816-17) LMSA.

[17] Wray to Burder, January 11, 1816, Box 1A, Br. G/B (1813-22) LMSA.

[18] Wray to Hankey, May 2, 1821, Box 1A, Br. G/B (1821) LMSA.

[19] Taylor to Coates, December 20, 1827, CW/083/18 and Jones to Bickersteth, CW/051/22, CMSA.

[20] Wray to Directors, March -, 1808, Box 1, Br. G/D (1807-14) LMSA.

[21] Anne Gilbert to Rev. Richard Pattison, June 1, 1804, Item 37, West Indies 1803-14, WMMSA.

[22] Dawes to Secretary, September 3, 1825, Book 1, M1-8 (1814-27) pp. 446-449 and 464-467, and October, 1826, pp. 544-552, CMSA.

[23] Wray to Langton, July 4, 1815, Box 1A, Br. G/B (1815) LMSA.

[24] Wray to Hardcastle, August 2, 1814, Box 1A, Br. G/D (1814) LMSA.

[25] L. H. Gravesande to Burder, June 17, 1814, Box 1A, Br. G/D (1814) LMSA.

[26] Carter to Coates, August 14, 1830, British Guiana (1823-58) CMSA.

[27] Dawes to Secretary, November 15, 1825, Book 1, M1-8 (1814-27) pp. 467-472, CMSA.

[28] Wray to Burder, July 31, 1817, Br.G/D (1816-17) LMSA.

[29] Wray to Burder, February 14, - Br.G/D (1816-17) LMSA.

[30] Letter from Committee, London, October 14, 1815, and letter from District Meeting, Antigua, February 12, 1816. London, June 26, 1816 to The Irish Conference, p. 223, WMMSA.

[31] S. Woolley to Committee, March 5, 1817, Item 111, West Indies Box 1816-18, WMMSA.

[32] Knibb to Miss Margaret Williams, December 3, 1824, and to Samuel Nichols, December 3, 1824, W1/3, BMSA.

[33] Ibid. A surprising softness came from the hard-nosed John Wray. He did not insist on rigid rules before "conversion" from his negroes recognizing that with slavery, marriage and concubinage produced "peçuliar circumstances." He fought with Elliott over this matter. He also referred to Mr. Gravesande, a man who kept a woman and five children, as being "a good man" and his wife was "a christian woman," sentiments that did not go over well with some of the other missionaries. Wray to Burder, Jun 9, 1814, and January 2, 1814, Box 1A, Br.G/B (1814) LMSA.

[34] Merton, p. 295.

[35] Religious Persecution in Jamaica: Report of the Speeches of the Rev. Peter Duncan, Wesleyan Missionary, and the Rev. W. Knibb, Baptist Missionary, at a Public Meeting of the Friends of Christian Missions, Held at Exeter Hall, August 15, 1832. (London, 1832), p. 9.

[36] Committee Meeting, September 1, 1819, Book 3, Outgoing Letters to 1833, pp. 70-73, WMMSA.

[37] "Wesleyan Missions in the West Indies" and Meeting on August 17, 1825, Ibid., pp. 230 and 283-297, WMMSA.

[38] Committee Meeting, April 18, 1811, Ibid., p. 109, WMMSA.

[39] James Stephen, "Slavery in the West Indies," The Edinburgh Review 41 (January, 1825): 585.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Wray to Burder, December 13, 1818, Box 1A, Br.G/B (1813-22) LMSA.

The matter of sexual union as distinct from social association is crucial. Sexual monoploy is an important issue, notwithstanding genuine "love" relationships between masters and slaves. Love is not always any more equalizing than sex. I must agree with one observer's rejection of David Brion Davis's comment that "Bondswomen have always been the victims of sexual exploitation which was perhaps the clearest sign of their humanity." Finley argues that exploitation is the very denial of a person's humanity whether bond or free. One must also observe that the very use of the word "victim" in this sense gives the statement a rather dull ring. And what of the Brazilian addage Davis quotes that "White women are for marriage, mulattoes for fornication, and negresses for work?" Moses I. Finley, "Critique of David Brion Davis - 'The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture,'" The New York Review of Books 3 (1967): 7-10.

[42] Knibb to Miss Sarah Griffiths, August 9, 1825, W1/3, BMSA.

[43] Quoted in Elsa V. Goveia, Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands At the End of the Eighteenth Century (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 301.

[44] Knibb to Miss Mary Williams, May 26, 1827, and Edward Knibb, January 8, 1826, W1/3, BMSA.

[45] Fellowes to Secretaries, August 27, 1831, Item 187, West Indies Box 1831, WMMSA.

[46] Ibid. Mr. J. Raynor, a Methodist argued similarly that "Many of the people of colour have more correct knowledge of men and things as well as doctrines and language than many of our preachers at home and are much more ready to notice defects in any of the above particulars for the greater part of our regular hearers in England." Raynor to Committee, April 27, 1814, Item 31, West Indies 1814-15, WMMSA. John Armstrong said they were "not a set of stupid automations which can never learn nor are fit to be loose." Armstrong to Coates, June 8, 1830, Br. Guiana, 1823-58, CMSA.

[47] Charles Lushington, A Remonstrance Addressed to the Lord Bishop of London . . . On the Sanction Given in His Late Charge to the Clergy of that Diocese to the Calumnies Against the Dissenters Contained in Certain Letters Signed L. S. E. (London, 1834), p. 16.

[48] William F. Burchell, p. 69.

[49] Van Cooten to Directors, March 4, 1815, Box 2, Br. G/D (1815-22) LMSA.

[50] Talboys, to Buckley, April 1, 1816, Minute Book, April 1798 - August, 1816, pp. 191-194, WMMSA.

[51] Wray reported that Mr. Walker was lenient about adultery and fornication and encouraged prostitution. CO. 318:89, PRO. Thomas Jones wrote to T. Fowell Buxton, July 10, 1826, about neglect and cruelty toward slaves, and then to Henry Brougham on July 5, 1826. Jones to Secretary, June 10, 1826, CW/051/2, CMSA. John Smith complained similarly to Peter Jackson, March 29, 1820, Box 2, Br. G/D (1815-22) LMSA. Wray returned to England in 1811 to report restrictions on religious freedom and wrote to Wilberforce, Stephens and Macaulay, about the Governor of Berbice ignoring proclamations which had ramifications for religious instruction. In 1813 Wray was sued for defamation on account of his exposes. Wray to Directors, April 12, 1813, Box 1A, British G. /B (1813-22) LMSA.

[52] The Guiana Chronicle and Demerara Gazette (May 3, 1824): 3.

[53] Ibid., (April 30, 1824): 2.

[54] As an example, The Colonist, (October 13, 1823), asked for "regular bred" clergymen who would give the "pure word of God, unpolluted with sedition." P. 2.

[55] Periodic Accounts of the BMS 5 (1813): 290-293. Similar instructions were in A Statement of the Committee of the BMS (London, 1807), p. 10.

[56] Quarterly Chronicle of Transactions of the LMS, 1 (1815-20): 475.

[57] Monthly Meeting, November 1828, LI (1820-34) p. 130, CMSA.

[58] "Instructions to Rev. W. K. Betts and Others Proceeding as Missionaries to West Africa, India, West Indies, etc. November 11, 1825," Proceedings of the CMS (1825-26): 148.

[59] Statement of the Plan, Object, and Effects of the Wesleyan Missions in the West Indies (London, 1824), pp. 8-10, and "Regulations for the Methodist Missions Addressed by the Committee to Missionaries By Order of the Last Conference, November 18, 1815." Minute Book, April 1798 - August 1816. Such instructions preceded all the Reports of the WMMS.

[60] For example, on March 22, 1819, John Smith wrote in his journal that "While writing this my very heart flutters at hearing the almost incessant cracking of the whip." CO. 111:46, PRO. As early as 1812 Wray indignantly wrote about ill-treatment of slaves, as well as expressing a protestation against the practice of "bambooing." Wray to Directors, December 9, 1812, Box 1 (1807-14) Br. G/D, LMSA. Many letters expressed such sentiments and revealed uneasy consciences and private agonizing.

[61] "They have asserted that we are public spies and private traducers, and troublesome and ungrateful sojourners whose doctrines and conduct tend to excite insubordination and rebellion among the slaves," Smith to Directors, September 27, 1817, Box 2 Br.G/D (1815-22), LMSA. The Guiana Chronicle, December 4, 1817, said of John Wray, that he prowled about "with jaundiced aspect and malignant heart . . . in that most excorable of all employments — a hired spy." Wray to W. A. Hankey, March 1819, Br.G/B (1819) LMSA. Wray actually did communicate his complaints to men such as Wilberforce, Macaulay, and Stephens, they being commissioners of the Crown Estates he worked on.

In 1812 Davies wrote that the Abolitionists were "the friends of humanity" especially Wilberforce "whom I love from the heart." Davies to Directors, December 18 and 19, 1812, Box 1 (1807-14) LMSA.

[62] Hope Masterton Waddell, Twenty-Nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa: A Review of Missionary Work and Adventure. (London, 1863), pp. 17 and 34.

John Smith observed that, "Generally speaking the colonists do not publicly declare themselves enemies to religion (though some of them do not scruple at that) but say they, The Colony is in danger. To teach the slaves is an impolitick measure. The proceedings of the missionaries, if not checked, prove subversive to good order : . . . the slave will be made too wise, and many other such futile arguments as were fiercely employed against Sunday schools . . . Smith to Burder, March 18, 1818, Box 2 Br. G/D (1815-27) LMSA.

[63] Peter Duncan, A Narrative of the Wesleyan Missions to Jamaica With Occasional Remarks on the State of Society in that Colony. (London, 1849), p. 177. The slave act is reported in The Annual Report of the Committee of the BMS, Thursday, June 27, 1827, Box W1/5, p. 27, BMSA.

[64] Van Cooten to Directors, March 4, 1815, Box 3, Br. G/D (1815-22) LMSA.

[65] The Guiana Chronicle and Demerara Gazette, (February 27, 1824): 3.

[66] James Latimer, "The Foundations of Religious Education in the British West Indies," The Journal of Negro Education 34 (Fall 1965): 435-442, especially 440.

[67] Smith to Directors, May 7, 1817, Box 2 Br. G/D (1815-22) LMSA.

[68] Stephens, p. 561.

[69] Mary Reckord, "The Colonial Office and the Abolition of Slavery," The Historical Journal 14 (1971): 723-734, especially p. 723, tells the case of Isaac Whitehouse, a missionary. He wrote to The Watchman and Jamaica Free Press describing the case of Henry Williams, a slave, who had been denied his right to religious freedom. The Wesleyan Methodist Committee invoked imperial action on the strength of his case. William Knibb reported the case of Sam Swiney and eleven members of the Baptist Society in Savannah-la-Mar, charged for holding illegal meetings, preaching, and teaching. This led to the dismissal of the magistrates concerned and Governor Belmore. Also Reckord's "The Jamaica Slave Rebellion of 1831," Past and Present (July 1968): 108-125.

[70] Gordon Catherall discusses this aspect in "The Native Baptist Church," Baptist Quarterly 24 (1971): 65-73.

Rumours of emancipation, economic stress, the independent religious meetings that developed around mission churches, and the christian philosophy which, whether intentional or not, was inspirational and revolutionary - these assisted in the unparalleled slave revolt. The following British newspapers made much of Knibb's rumoured contribution to the rebellion, The West Briton, Truro, February 27, 1832; Newcastle Courant, Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, February 25, 1832; Portsmouth Herald, February 24, 1832; and Edinburgh Evening Post, December 21, 1832, and December 25, 1832. Orlando Patterson discussed the possible contributory causes to Jamaican Slave Revolts, The Sociology of Slavery (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1967), pp. 273-283.

[71] Wilbur D. Jones, "Lord Mulgrove's Administration in Jamaica, 1823-33," The Journal of Negro History 48 (January 1963): 44-56. Jones is quoting from a Ripon Paper 40862, August 1832. Few can truly believe the missionaries supported violent rebellion - insurrection and bloodshed were as abhorent to them as to abolitionists in England. Both supported gradualist policies.

[72] Elsa V. Goveia, pp. 323-324.

[73] Raynor to Committee, April 27, 1814, Item 31, West Indies Box 1814-15 WMMSA. John Armstrong observed that they were not "a set of stupid automations which can never learn nor are fit to be loose." Armstrong to Coates, June 8, 1830, British Guiana 1823-58, CMSA.

[74] Merton, p. 234.

[75] Sullivan, p. 350.

[76] Wray refers to this in relation to coloured and blacks sitting alongside each other in Church. Wray to Burder, December 13, 1818, Box 1A, British G. /B (1816-17) LMSA.

[77] Watson to Committee, October 17, 1823, Item 14, West Indies Box 1823-24, WMMSA.

[78] Quoted in The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle (June 1824).

[79] "Proceedings of a General Court Martial Against John Smith of the LMS on Monday, 13th October, 1823. CO. 111-42, PRO. Also "Copy of a Journal Containing Various Occurrences at Le Resouvenir, Demerara, Commenced in March, 1817 by John Smith." Smith refers to the managers checking on the substance and examples of his preaching. March 18, 1817, CO. 111:46, p. 3, PRO. The Guiana Chronicle, (February 27, 1824): 1-3 makes the same observation.

[80] Davies to Secretary, December 18, 1808, Box 1, Br. G/D (1807-14) LMSA.

[81] "A Communication on the Security of the West Indies Connected with Emancipation," Wood to Bickersteth, February 13, 1830, CW/095/6, pp. 524-543, CMSA.

[82] The author would like to tentatively suggest a further motive with regard to many female conversions but has not sufficient evidence at this stage to argue the case strongly. There is a "feeling" when one peruses some of the materials and one which is alluded to rather than specifically remarked upon, that some females were able to "use" their Christian committments in the area of sexuality. That is, they were able to *refuse* the advances made to them by white men or by fellow slaves if they were reluctant to embark upon these regular relationships within the community, but irregular ones within the Christian context. In the case of sexual abuse they could seek the protection of the missionary and could refuse an unsatisfactory "adulterous" liaison on moral grounds. Their insistence upon chastity gave them legitimate reason to decline relationships they may have otherwise been forced into, or not easily able to refuse; or were quite simply, repugnant to them.

[83] Merton, p. 286.

[84] Ibid., p. 290.

[85] Although not on West Indian slavery, two books deal with these aspects in relation to American slavery. George P. Rawick, *From Sundown to Sunup - The Making of the Black Community* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Co., 1972), and John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Ante-bellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).

[86] Patterson deals with this. He attributes several factors apart from the obvious ravages of climate and disease. These include malnutrition, ill-treatment, promiscuity, abortion, the nature of labour leading to gynocological complaints, and the attitudes and practices of the "grandees" (midwives), as well as the reluctance to reproduce on the part of women who gained favours for their bodies from freemen, slaves with delegated authority such as a driver, foreman, or domestic; the most significant favours however were to be gained from the white male population. Pp. 94-98.

[87] E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Penguin Books, 1968), pp. 385-417, and J. L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond, *The Town Labourer, 1760-1832* (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1920), pp. 260-279.

[88] Swinyard to Marsden, April 12, 1817, Item 119, *West Indies Box 1816-18*, WMMSA.

[89] Journal of Charles Thwaites from April 2, 1820 to September 29, 1820, Book 1, M1-8 (1814-27) CMSA.

[90] Quamina, Satin, Bristel, and Asaar to Burder, December 14, 1817, Box 2, Br. Guiana/D (1815-22) LMSA.

[91] Stanley Elkins, Slavery (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968) discusses "Quashee" or "Sambo" as a defense mechanism whereas Orlando Patterson examines it as a form of passive resistance.

James M. Phillippo, Jamaica: Its Past and Present State (London, 1843), stated that a Mungola slave had told a missionary that "Buckra tink Mungola nigger fool - make him tan so." Phillippo continued that "Their stupidity, however, has been more feigned than real; thus when attracting the gaze of multitudes at their carnivals, by their grotesque appearance and ridiculous gambols, they have been known to indulge in the keenest satire . . . ." P. 204.

[92] Knibb to Sarah Griffiths, March 29, 1826, W1/3, BMSA. Knibb observes the stratifications within the coloured and slaves groups. Patterson argues that social stratifications and divisions of labour were functions of their socio-economic relation to the white group and that colour was of psychological significance to slaves but had no subjective meaning. He says it was of concern to the "coloureds" because it was a reflection of the estimations of the masters. I am not sure Patterson is altogether convincing on this matter given that he also argues that in systems of domination the social and economic divisions are defined by the dominators. Why did the "blacker" or more African slave not feel his blackness if masters did give preferential treatment to lighter slaves, - a crucial point for females currying the favours of white men. The Sociology of Slavery, p. 64.

[93] Eugene Genovese, Roll Jordan Roll (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971), p. 190.

PART III

APPRENTICESHIP

> I shall remain . . . for a great opportunity has opened for effective work, and there is much opposition.
>
> I Corinthians, 16:9.

> The idea of instruction being a weapon placed in the hands of the negro and with which he can beat his master I trust is nearly exploded. Every enlightened and discerning planter who can look beyond the apprenticeship system sees and acknowledges it is only through instruction, which can raise the once degraded and greatly despised slave to the rank and dignity of a free man, and implant in his mind the most unshaken principles of loyalty and good order.
>
> Missionary Howe (1836).

> Slavery is indeed scotched in our colonies, but it is not killed; its name is changed, its character remains to be changed hereafter.
>
> R. R. Madden. Select Committee on Apprenticeship (1836).

CHAPTER VI

THE EDUCATION OF APPRENTICES AND FREEDMEN

Introduction

It is commonly believed that the Act of Emancipation (1833) freed the negro population from slavery on August 1st, 1834. However, although by act of Parliament British slavery was legally abolished servitude was not, and would continue for another four years.

Because the abolition of slavery in the dominions was a confiscation of real "property," certain compromises had to be reached between the Home Government, the Colonial legislatures, and the property owners. A period of apprenticeship, that is, of indentured labour, was deemed a satisfactory way of meeting demands for compensation in addition to the £20 million sterling granted by parliament to be shared among planters of the various colonies. A period of apprenticeship before full liberty could be enjoyed was deemed desirable on another account. During this time the negro population could be swiftly and satisfactorily prepared for freedom by coming to an understanding of what qualities and virtues were required to make them a "grateful peasantry."

The planters therefore remained the employers of ex-slaves, and in fact still owned their labour. The missionaries, being virtually the sole providers of education, were to assume in this brief period even more significance than previously. The ex-slaves, known as apprentices in Jamaica and British Guiana, and as freedmen in Antigua, acquired a freedom which must have appeared largely illusory.

Apprenticeship

Apprenticeship proved to be but another "state of vassalage." Vagrant laws, police laws, tenants' acts, trespass acts, emigration laws, labour rates, contracts of indenture, wages acts, and plantation stores were the various means by which the old order retained its power. Such "specious pretexts" of new law and justice actually deprived the apprentices of "ordinary franchises and privileges."[1] A tabulation of recorded punishments between 1834-36 included stocks, chains, penal gangs, dark cells, solitary confinements, fines, treadmills, and floggings.[2] Moreover, there was an hitherto unsurpassed surveillance over the negroes. Such laws and punishments demonstrated the precarious nature of freedom enjoyed by ex-slaves as well as the reluctance of their employers to relinquish either psychological or physical mastery over them.[3]

In brief, emancipation did little but "open up new fields of usefulness"[4] for the special magistrates and constables appointed to police the new circumstances. Some of them actually resigned in disgust at their duties.[5] It became common for magistrates and constables "to seek the favour of one party at the expense of the other." According to one anonymous pamphleteer who was indignant with the abuses of the system, the magistrates seemed determined "to conciliate the strong at the expense of the weak; thus the despotism of the planters [was] perpetuated, and the rights of the negro trampled to the dust."[6]

According to the Abolition Act, apprentices were bound to give their masters 40 1/2 hours of free labour per week. Children under six were freed outright and adult apprentices were permitted to purchase their freedom, a highly unlikely prospect given the little time left to earn their price; one that was raised in many cases to one beyond their purchasing power. The details of emancipation and apprenticeship were left to local governments to enforce. In actuality the apprentices were required to give 45 hours of unpaid labour with the remaining four and one-half hours allowed for cultivation of their own provision grounds.

The problem which arose in both British Guiana and Jamaica was how this 40 1/2 hours was to be spread - whether it would be eight hours daily for four days with 4 1/2 hours on the fifth day, or nine hours a day, four and one-half days a week. The latter spread was the more attractive to the apprentice for it allowed a day and a half to cultivate their own provisions. In British Guiana, however, the labourers were paid by "task" work rates rather than by the hour or day. In this way they earned more or less according to the produce they cultivated. As in the other colonies there had always been a shortage of suitable or uncultivated land for slaves to have their own provision grounds. As most ground was under crop, food was more expensive because it had to be imported.[7] Under such circumstances, the apprentices, of course, were forced to buy food supplies.

Antigua opted out of the period of apprenticeship after conferring with the clergy and missionaries on the readiness of the slaves for freedom.[8] The reasons given for this sudden show of magnaminity on the part of the proprietors at a meeting in St. John, 11th September, 1833, were several. The expense of the complicated administrative machinery of apprenticeship and the costs of Commissioners required to implement it, would outweigh the benefits of compensation. Also, if slavery was the crime that Britain insisted it was, then they must be rid of it immediately! This last item of humbug was illumined by the statement which followed.

> At whatever period the British parliament may determine to proclaim Freedom to the slaves in these colonies, the relative obligations of the owners of these slaves will cease and there can exist no constitutional power or authority to force upon the colonists, the necessity of employing labourers over whose conduct they would have no control.[9]

This latter point is crucial to understanding the gesture. The conditions in the Act of Emancipation regarding Apprenticeship clauses clearly required duties, obligations and responsibilities from both parties - proprietors and labourers. Antigua had an advantage over the other West Indian islands in that it had a monopoly over both free labour and slave labour because there was next to no fertile soil left for the free labourers. Many Antiguan ex-slaves were destined to remain the labourers of their former masters with minimal salaries and none of the legally required "benefits" they had when they were slaves, that is, valued property![10] The Antiguan proprietors then were not suddenly compassionate nor even remorseful and certainly not foolishly generous. Their objections to European Stipendiary Magistrates who were unaccustomed to "the peculiar habits, customs, and character of the people, and ignorant of the municipal institutions" suggests that the proprietors knew their "habits and customs" to be somewhat contrary to impartial justice and reasonable law![11]

John Wray, it seems, had been woefully off-base when he jubilantly exclaimed in 1834 that "on this memorable day slavery has ceased" and that England "had about a million slaves yesterday who today are free British subjects!" After praising the Lord, he continued -

> Instead of a system of slavery, a system of apprenticeship has been substituted which by good and wholesome laws is so guarded as to protect all the apprentices from the arbitary punishments and effects of slavery. 12

His brother missionary, John Mirams, only five days later observed more cynically that apprenticeship would prove to be "more intolerable than absolute slavery" and the only remedy for the immorality of slavery was "absolute freedom."[13]

The Negro Education Grant

Although Antigua opted out of the experiment of apprenticeship and the ex-slaves there were consequently freedmen, nevertheless it was beneficiary with the other West India colonies to that part of the Emancipation Act which provided Parliamentary aid known as "The Negro Education Grant." Resolution five of the Act of 1833 stated

> That His Majesty be enabled to defray any such expenses as he may incur in establishing an efficient Stipendiary Magistracy in the colonies and in aiding the local legislatures in proceeding upon liberal and comprehensive principles for the religious and moral education of the negro population to be emancipated. 14

Just as in 1833 the British government had granted £30,000 per annum for ten years to English elementary education, two years later it granted a similar sum for its emancipated colonies to help provide elementary education for the negro apprentices and freedmen. In 1833 parliament approved £25,000 annually for West Indian school construction and the development of teacher training facilities. The first grants were distributed in 1835; they were finally relinquished in 1845. John Lefevre, the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Charles Grant, Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, sent circulars to clergy, governors, and missionaries, as well as the London missionary societies requesting information about the intents and purposes of education in the colonies.[15] They wanted to understand more fully the state of education in the islands. Replies to the "Heads of Plan for Promoting the Education of Youth in the British West India Islands" were solicited from the four missionary societies under discussion.[16]

That the missionary societies were approached to help implement the plan indicates how little education other than missionary education had been offered during slavery. Government and the Colonial Legislatures had educationally speaking next to nothing to work with and rather than begin anew decided that the existing physical arrangements ought first be utilized. To train government teachers, to recruit them to the islands, and to build schoolhouses would have been impracticable and self defeating in the ten year period for which grants were to be paid. Government already had some interest in schoolhouses and chapels in some parts of the West Indies having provided a generous compensation to missionaries after the destruction of the chapels and after the 1832 rebellions.[17]

The original Plan was stipulated to be liberal in practices and non-denominational in principles. School districts were to be agreed upon by the various co-operating agencies who had agreed to accept government funds and participate in the implementation of the scheme for building and staffing schoolhouses. These were asked to agree to a system of inspection. Agencies which wanted to benefit from the Plan had to guarantee sites, labour and subscriptions for a five year period. Appointments of teachers could be summarily revoked if the person concerned was not morally or politically "appropriate." Government was to provide two-thirds of the initial outlay of schoolhouses with the co-operating agencies providing the other one-third.[18] A fourth aspect of the plan included guarantees that a "native agency" would be trained to eventually staff and take over facilities. A minimal fee payment by scholars and possible segregation of the sexes in the government funded schools was suggested.

It all sounded quite reasonable. However the objections were varied. The missionaries were generally suspicious of several features, especially those they perceived to compromise their religious autonomy over the schools already under their control. Thus, the Plan as it stood was criticized on various grounds by interested missionary societies and their criticisms caused delays in implementing the grants while the offending terms, clauses, or stipulations were amended.

One practical concern was over the idea of "districts." As the plan stood, given the uneven distribution of populations, it was implausible to have equal geographical districts. As for the suggestion that the population of a given area vote for the denomination it preferred for the government aided schools what would become of existing facilities if another denomination was chosen? Furthermore, a vote did not allow for dissenting or minority wishes as to who should teach their children. The LMS and BMS were insistent that parental rights must be of prime importance. Therefore, they argued that the system of the BFSS would best meet the "liberal and comprehensive" stipulations while also meeting parental wishes. The BFSS, it is remembered, provided non-sectarian instruction which seemed peculiarly appropriate in the case of government aided schools as well as avoiding sectarian divisions if the choice of school was subject to a vote.

The Rev. Dyer of the BMS[19] further protested that he was none too satisfied that if schoolmasters were to be answerable for their activities to the Governors of the Colonies representing the Colonial Office, would their cases be judged with impartiality? Could not the missionaries deal directly with the Colonial Office? He added that sexual segregation seemed inappropriate and expensive.

Jabez Bunting of the WMMS[20] fretted about the use of "liberal and comprehensive principles" in the plan. State-assisted education, he foresaw, might "generalize the instruction as in fact to neutralize it also." The term "liberal and comprehensive," he believed must also allow for various aspects of instruction such as catechizing, pastoral superintendence, devotional exercises, and disciplinary peculiarities. Such principles ought "to mean a plan of assisting all" without imposing any restriction as to the internal religious management of the schools. The Wesleyan attitude toward the establishment of district divisions was analogous to that of the BMS. The appeal was made once again to parental rights over choice of education. Moreover, they argued, it seemed reasonable to assume that wherever a foothold had already been established by a denomination further success would follow. Bunting considered sexual segregation as an imperative and rejected the notion of its expense. Female teachers he noted, could be obtained "for smaller salaries." The good brother Bunting also requested that any government aided schoolhouses be used as "occasional places for preaching and worship."

The BMS reply had been unobtrusive, advisory, and reasonable; the WMMS reply on the other hand was in its tone, immoderate, over-optimistic, and eager.[21] So much so that a circular was sent to the Wesleyan missionaries in 1835 which stated, "You must not raise your expectations too high and overwhelm us with indiscriminate applications." The same circular also emphasized that the grant was for new schools built since 1st August, 1834, not for ones built previous to that date, and certainly not for chapels. Perhaps the less assertive letter from the BMS was a reflection of what was to prove its impartiality in the matter, for as a Society it did not intend to accept government aid.

Dandeson Coates of the CMS[22] had similar reservations. He wrote to Thomas Fowell Buxton however that he feared the result of the present plan would be "an undue multiplication of schools" with a consequent "collision of the different societies" wanting control over various areas.[23] Coates worst fears were to be realized in the next four years of Apprenticeship and the bruising from interdominational collision was to be felt well into the years of freedom.

The LMS representative, William Ellis,[24] also expressed grave reservations about the proposed district system which he believed would open areas up to "local particularities and prejudices of a few leading persons." There was evidence already of sectarianism in British Guiana and this would increase it.

The official clergy of the West Indies Established Church were extremely piqued at the plan; being not so much against the use of funds by dissenters as opposed to the CMS input. Although the CMS was an Anglican society it had never succeeded in endearing itself to the clergy at home or abroad. The clergy distrusted "schismatical and enthusiastic proceedings within the pale of the Church" and putting themselves in a rather absurd position, they prefered to "maintain the sober response of all the pulpits of the Establishment." They would prefer that no CMS missionaries partake in the scheme for education.[25] The CMS it seemed was redundant under the circumstances and would only serve to diffuse the grants which ought to be distributed to the official clergy and their parochial schools.

The aid was finally distributed to the CMS, the Society for the

Conversion, Religious Instruction, and Education of the Negro Slaves, the LMS, the WMMS, the Scotch Missionary Society, the Moravian Missionary Society, the Ladies Society for the Education of Negro Children, and some missionaries of the BMS. Although the BMS refused government aid, it allowed individual missionaries to choose whether they would avail themselves of it.

The required guarantee of a five year subscription did not seem a problem in 1834. Flushed with eager optimism the missionaries did not doubt they could raise their one-third portion of the aid. Dyer's enthusiasm was typical.

> May it not be reasonably anticipated that whenever there exists a sufficient degree of benevolence and public spirit to set a school on foot the interest created by its establishment and proper administration would secure its continued support? 26

Wray expressed similar sentiments three years later when he said that "the people of England will not have the negroes in a state of ignorance for want of means for their education."[27] Neither Wray nor Dyer could apparently conceive that the public was fickle, ever desirous to find new causes and exotic challenges, and that it would cast its eyes and more importantly its subscriptions upon Africa and India.

If Government was suspicious of the continued loyalty and generosity of subscribers it was quite right to be so. Within a year later all societies were finding it difficult to obtain land for purchase on which to build schools; sometimes they even found themselves in the untenable position of contesting past titles. With the inflow of the compensation funds, the rate of exchange dropped in the West Indies and building costs inflated.[28] By 1837, in their often indiscriminate eagerness to "secure a portion"[29] of the aid, some societies were unable to contribute their one-third and declined government aid. The modest estimated £250 per school house proved to be a pipe dream and in that year the CMS reported it could not meet outlay costs.[30] John Beecham of the WMMS noted that he could not request aid as there were no funds forthcoming from the Society.[31] A drought in Antigua and land tenure difficulties had further "retarded progress" in the erection of twenty-four schoolhouses promised. William Ellis gave similar excuses on behalf of his LMS missionaries although he was sure more schools could be built.[32] Only the individual BMS missionaries were still applying for grant money with some confidence.[33] Even then Phillippo could not raise the balance for his Spanish Town and Metropolitan Schools by voluntary subscription and John Clark, Walter Dendy, and B. Dexter all declined aid.[34]

However, the British Government's decision to go ahead and utilize the existing arrangements was undoubtedly an impetus to missionary activity in the years of apprenticeship. This unexpected financial boost gave life where it was wilting and perhaps even delayed that inevitable day when the London Societies would begin to wean their missionaries from the parent body. By 1836 it was concluded that the past successes of missionaries had afforded "satisfactory ground for anticipating the most favourable results . . . ." In the words of Sir George Grey, "the establishment of a new and distinct system would tend to interfere with their operations, without deriving any assistance from that agency."[35] The schools which were to receive aid were to operate on the general plan of either the National Society or the BFSS. An inspectorate was deemed imperative to maintain minimal standards, to account for funds spent, to assure regularity of attendance, and to avoid appropriation of funds for other buildings such as chapels.[36]

At no stage in the years that followed was the Negro Education Fund efficiently administered. John Pinnington's observation on the British Government's attitude toward apprenticeship in Jamaica is applicable to the Colonial Office's attitude toward Negro Education in the whole of the West Indies.

> Once having 'freed' the slaves the Colonial Office seemed to have no clear idea of what to do with them, either because it was a characteristic of this period of romantic revolution to release energy rather than direct it, or because British public opinion was just plainly bored with Jamaica's problems. 37

The "romantic revolution" had centred around the campaign for Abolition and the implementation of the Negro Education Fund was only its afterthought. Its administration involved perfunctory bureaucratic procedures, incomplete records, and a general "drat the whole affair" attitude. The missionaries and their Societies did not know what the other was doing most of the time. The fund had been set aside and on that ground alone had to be distributed by government; on that same ground it had to be sought out by the missionaries whether they could afford the luxury of costly and additional schoolhouses or not.

The sum total voted "in aid of the building of schoolhouses for the instruction of the emancipated negro population"[38] which also included Cape Town and Mauritius was not sufficient to make a remarkable impact. However it was sufficient to ensure missionary debts. With freedom for the slave "won" England was simply not serious in providing the means of education. The missionary interest consisted primarily not in expanding education but of opportunity in consolidation, that is, in extending and strengthening their respective spheres of influence.

Charles Latrobe who was appointed Inspector of the schools noted at the end of apprenticeship that the various Christian bodies were involved in "petty play or sectarian feeling" which interfered with the smooth operation of the grants.[39] Their "small minded and jealous" proceedings made his task of inspection the more difficult. Latrobe had been commissioned to make his report because of the confusions, evasions, and mismanagement produced by the grant.[40] He was not welcomed by the parties concerned and in turn was both exasperated and dismayed sufficiently to exclaim at one point of his investigation - "What is Truth!" He was referring to the "impossibility of procuring accurate information" from the various missionaries.

> It is not only in general that the members of the different missionary bodies cannot give the slightest information to be depended upon concerning each other's proceedings or even the existence of their respective schools but in the case of one missionary body each person conducts his operations perfectly independently of his brethren. 41

He was referring in this last remark to the Baptists who had been allowed to make their decisions about accepting aid independently of the Society and their fellow missionaries.

Although his report was generally far from flattering, Latrobe gave credit to the "self denial, singleness of purpose, and tempered zeal" of the individual missionaries and praised them for their "sound moral character and correct religious views" if not for "the possession of any great degree of ability or proficiency in the instruction of the children of the labouring class! "[42]

Two major obstacles to the implementation of the original Plan for Negro Education reared their ugly heads in various forms before the final decision to go ahead. These two difficulties concerned the inspectorship required by the Plan and the implications of accepting government aid. The matter of inspectorship was more readily resolved than the latter dilemma.

The four societies had predictable responses to the offer of government aid depending on their various beliefs about the relationship between Church and State. The CMS and the WMMS responded positively to the opportunity to use government funds, whereas the dissenting societies, the LMS and the BMS responded quite differently. The BMS resolved "that no grant of public money can consistently be received by the Committee in aid of strictly religious objects."[43] However, the Society did not interfere with its missionaries making up their own minds "provided nothing in the mode of conducting the schools should interfere with the rights of conscience on the part of the parents as to attendance of pupils on public worship, or the enforcement of any particular formulary of religious instruction."[44]

On the one hand the BMS saw government aid as a compromise with the State and were reluctant to give it any opportunity to dictate content or procedures in Baptist schools. On the other hand BMS missionaries wanted non-denominational education based on the system of the BFSS and proved themselves the most sincere and effective at separating the religious instruction offered in their schools from purely sectarian content. They encouraged non-Baptist attendance and placed greater emphasis on secular subjects. Yet the Society refused State aid as a matter of dissenting principle.

Latrobe's report spoke warmly about the Baptist missionaries and he attributed their strength to the fact that they did not expect help from the parent Society so that "personal exertion of no ordinary character was the result . . . the individual missionaries have been thrown almost entirely upon their own resources."[45] William Knibb was a notable exception among those Baptists who refused government aid. He rejoiced that aid would be given to schools[46] because he felt that the population prevailing "ignorance" would be alleviated by such assistance.[47] He had also observed that before the government injections of aid that not one school had been established by the legislature, although "abominable cells and treadmills" were being erected to "prepare the poor things for freedom."[48]

The Wesleyan missionaries responded to the "cheering news" of aid with universal warmth. James Cox, the District Secretary in Antigua, exclaimed to the Reverend John Beecham, "O Sir! If only you knew what delight the grant of a few paltry pounds gives to us poor hungry fellows . . . Money out here literally answers all things."[49] Just as enthusiastically he then proceeded to request a chapel to accommodate 2,000, "with galleries all around and the greater part of the floor for the poor." As an afterthought, the school was to be underneath! Several months later, Beecham attempted to cool his missionary colleagues' ardour for chapels rather than schools by reprimanding the Antigua district for making a highly dubious public announcement in the September 6, 1836 edition of the St. Christopher Advertiser. It reported that a government grant had been used to build a "new chapel and schoolhouse" at Halfway Tree. "Such a public statement is unfortunate," he wrote, given that the use of a school for preaching was only an "understanding." He insisted on more careful wording of future advertisements including that any new building was to be designated as nothing else "but a schoolhouse."[50]

As unobjectionable as government aid was to the CMS and WMMS it was not so with the LMS missionaries although their parent society clearly saw a distinction between receiving aid for school buildings and receiving it for religious purposes. The LMS saw religion and education as distinct from each other. Curiously, the Society had to urge and wheedle its missionaries to accept government aid in British Guiana. Charles Rattray, for example, protested that he was a "dissenter" and as such refused "to be pensioned from a bounty of the State." He saw government aid as an "unscriptural mode of promoting and supporting Christianity." Further to that, he ventured to accuse the Directors of resorting to sophistry when they insisted they could accept aid as "teachers of religion" rather than as "ministers of religion." Rattray blankly refused to serve "two masters," and saw government inspectors as identical with "inquisitors." Finally, he insisted, would not a government supported school be bona fide "government" and not a "missionary" school?[51] Another LMS missionary, James Scott, objected to the "personal appointments" that would inevitably be made by government under the guise of impartial inspectors. Further, he noted, government views on conditions of inspection might change as governments changed. He agreed to reconsider aid if superintendence and inspectorates were committed to the missionary body concerned within an area.[52]

Latrobe was able to report in 1838 that the question of inspectors had been resolved. The CMS Committee of the Jamaica Auxiliary, or an island curate, were permitted to act as an inspector, while the WMMS was allowed to appoint its own inspector who was usually the Superintendent of the district. BMS and LMS schools were to be inspected by a resident missionary of the parent Societies. Although such a compromise was wholly satisfactory to the missionaries involved it can scarcely be viewed as a wholly satisfactory resolution to the problem. Certain minimum standards might be expected to have been maintained more effectively if a less partial body of inspectors had been appointed.

As early as 1836 the British Guiana missionaries had written a letter of protest at what they saw to be their Society's compromise over independence. Although they were able to concede that the government might not interfere with the type of religious instruction given, nevertheless the provisions of aid seemed "to imply a right to interfere with the management of the schools and the system of general education pursued."[53] After several years of haggling over the issue, Joseph Ketley of the LMS, returned to the central problem by declaring that the "rights and privileges as the Church of Christ [were] not free to give away to expediency."[54] This affirmation of the independent principles of congregational church organization, as well as other personal matters, had convinced Ketley for some time that he ought to take the initiative and become self-supporting.[55]

The Secretary of the LMS could not understand the rejection of such an important "moral agency" as education, even if government aided. He referred to the "strong and imperative claims of the youthful generation"[56] and irritably advised the missionaries to control their "unbecoming sentiments" and "excited feelings" about the matter.[57] He rejected the idea that an inspector was an inquistor[58] and cautioned that, if they were hesitant to have their schools inspected, what then would Government or the public think about the conduct of their schools?[59] Although Ketley continued his struggle for autonomy, claiming he could not accept the "chains" which bound them and become "enslaved not by force but by consent,"[60] the dissenting missionaries of British Guiana finally acquiesced in receiving government aid.

Education for Freedom

The four year apprenticeship period concentrated on the previous goals of missionary education namely to train the negroes up into morality and industry. The latter virtue was emphasized and took on a new and urgent importance although it was always seen as essential to the prime goals which never ceased being religious and moral. These energies which were so frequently dissipated by the negro population in drumming, drinking, and dancing were to be channeled into desirable activities of industry. If an apprentice showed himself able to "resist the temptation" to join in Saturday night dances, upon which all vices were attendant, then he also demonstrated a "good degree of moral strength."[61]

The ideas of industry were particularly stressed in relation to the bringing up of negro children. Christian apprentices were not only exhorted to baptize them, set a good example, chasten them in love and piety, assure them good instruction in day or Sunday school, but also to "keep them busy" and pray for them.[62] The old adage that "idle hands make work for the devil" was implicit in much of the moral training given in the schools.

A Clergyman, Reverend J. Sterling, had emphasized this type of preparation for freedom in his Report on Negro Education in 1835.[63] He feared the granting of freedom within five years unless the negro population had by then the appropriate "mental improvement" by which he meant "moral" improvement. They must overcome their "slavish vices" of indolence, servility, debauchery, and contented ignorance, and engage in the tasks of productivity under free labour. Above all the habits of industry must be inculcated.

> If they are not disposed to fulfill these functions from prudential and moral motives, property will perish in the colonies for lack of human compulsion. The whites will no longer reside there and the liberated negroes will probably cease to be progressive. 64

The Baptist, Phillippo, could not have agreed more with the clergyman. "Educate them and I am persuaded that a more virtuous, enlightened and industrial people will nowhere exist,"[65] he proclaimed optimistically. As it was, the negro children were "literally perishing for lack of knowledge."[66] Proprietors, clergymen and dissenters agreed on the matter - an unusual concurrence. In 1835, The Royal Gazette, Jamaica, contained a section on "the education of the people." The article bewailed the fact that indolence seemed to be the peasantry's besetting sin, and that something "exciting" must be substituted for the whip or there would be "no inducement for them to exert themselves."[67]

However, the recommendation that moral and useful branches of knowledge taught also expressed the hope that that "mathematical, chemical, and physical knowledge" would not be taught until "religious precepts" and "sound moral doctrines" were first imparted.[68] The kind of precepts seen as admirable included such aphorisms as "honesty is the best policy; rising early is congenial to health . . . and a penny saved is a penny got."[69] John Innes, an entrepeneur in sugar and joint-stock, observed that "indulgences" such as clothing, rent, and medical attention, would be disallowed at the end of apprenticeship and they, the negroes, must learn the "value of money and extra labour."[70] He believed it was "perfectly chimerical to expect continued labour" from the apprentices when they were freed unless industry was carefully habituated as part of the preparation for freedom.

The government also had a voice in the matter of raising up industrious labourers. Sterling, Phillippo, and Innes had thus a powerful supporter in Governor J. Carmichael Smyth of British Guiana. Smyth wrote to Lord Glenelg that religious instruction had to be taught alongside "habits of application and industry."[71] He would have felt kindly towards a LMS missionary's suggestion that children be put into dormitories that "they may receive a sound moral and religious education and be brought up in habits of cleanliness and industry."[72] Only then would they become useful members of society.

When missionaries were asked what evidence they could provide for the benefits of formal education they often cited as did the CMS agent, Henry Ludlow Dixon, that there was an "improved tendency to work."[73] To this end Reverend Betts a year previously had insisted in a Public Notice that children ought to be encouraged "to sweep the house and yard, or mend their own clothes, or work in the garden."[74] Indeed, "any little work is better than idleness."[75] As the Wesleyan, Cox, observed it was essential "for our existence as a civilized Country that the young be trained to labour."[76]

So convinced of the spiritual benefits of industry was James Cox that he compiled an agricultural catechism for the young who had a duty to labour honestly lest sugar production cease altogether.[77] The negroes, he believed, did not understand the necessity for sugar production for their economic survival. He compiled A Manual of Instruction which elaborated the principles of industrious conduct and how to conduct one's life according to these principles. The planters were so impressed with the sound moral and economic advice in the manual, that they published it in the Antigua Herald, 2nd July, 1836. The Legislature defrayed the expense of publishing its sound advice in a pamphlet.[78]

This most common aim of education during apprenticeship was reiterated time and time over the four year apprenticeship period. The widely felt urgent and heightened fear was that the ex-slaves would either seek revenge by refusing to work for their old masters or refuse to work altogether, or would refuse agricultural labour owing to their "repugnance to an employment which was formerly compelled."[79] When freedom was granted in August, 1838, the fear still remained. Governors such as Henry Light of British Guiana issued proclamations urging the labourers to remain industrious, urging Head People and Foremen to be "examples" of diligence, and warning freed men and women against deceit, malingering, idleness, and sleeping![80]

Throughout apprenticeship the missionaries, planters, and other interested parties such as Charles Latrobe, advised vocational and industrial training as an appropriate educational goal. Apart from a few isolated attempts however the idea did not gain any great impetus. The reasons are not too difficult to ascertain. To begin with there was nothing in which they could have been gainfully trained. Given their experience and participation in agriculture throughout slavery, a participation presumably to be continued throughout apprenticeship, it would have been strange to advise them they ought to be trained in the very thing they were involved in doing, apparently quite competently, if under compulsion. To assume the slave community had only given a disinterested form of labour throughout bondage and learned nothing about the processes they were engaged in is to assume a passive involvement which the circumstances must surely refute.

That slaves produced capable and efficient foremen from among their ranks, tradesmen of high enough calibre for "hiring out," and skilled labour in all areas, is sufficient evidence that their involvement was more conscious and active than that. The stress given to vocational training was not so much to train the agricultural class for labour and agriculture but rather to persuade them that this was a dignified and necessary occupation, one that a free man might choose to enter upon without the associations of degradation and coercion.

When the idea of vocational training was linked to the idea of "field schools" it made more sense, if not for the children concerned, then certainly as a means of cheap labour to proprietors. Mr. Thompson, an agent of the Bible Society in Jamaica, for example suggested such an alternative form of education which consisted of common learning for a portion of the day and field occupations for the remainder of the day.[81]

A second reason vocational training did not succeed was the interests and abilities of the missionaries themselves, who with the Clergy were almost the sole providers of education. They were capable only of offering a general education and then often only in the basic areas of reading and writing with some computation and religious instruction. The use of the plough, crop rotation, fertilizers, and soil conservation or mechanical arts or skills appropriate to a plantation economy were hardly within their scope or training. Besides this, even in the best of circumstances, it was all too apparent that land for free villages was either too scarce or too expensive for the apprentices once freed to purchase. The missionaries realized that the majority of labourers were destined as free men to remain in the employ of the owners of estates with only a small percentage becoming a free peasantry with land of their own, or owning a business or shop.

A consistent "vocational" endeavour, however, was the attempt to introduce needlework and "other branches of female work" such as housework, washing, and ironing, into the schools.[82] This was seen as an eminently useful means of teaching industry. It also served a further purpose in that it enabled the apprentices to make a financial contribution to their education. The notion of "self-help" was a part of ideas of industry.[83] It was firmly believed by the dissenters, for example, that parents and likewise their children placed a higher value on that which they paid for or were paid for, albeit minimally, than that which was gratuitously received. Payment for education was believed to encourage more regular attendance.[84] Thus, the First Quarterly Report of the Ladies Church Missionary Refuge School, Kingston, Jamaica, which had at least five missionary wives sitting on its committee, stressed the desirability of rising at 5 a.m. to study. After that, the girls would be engaged in needlework, the mending of clothes, and housework. One-third of the girls were to be occupied every alternate day in washing. But even with this regimen of industry and morality the only one among them who evinced "anything like piety and a wish to improve [was] a little girl of ten years of age."[85]

The content and methods of the education provided by missionaries saw several shifts in emphasis during apprenticeship. The most obvious change in content was a heightened emphasis on abstinence and marriage. The most urgent and compelling aspects of the drive toward a new morality were embodied in the ideal of the abstentious apprentice and the faithful spouse. The stress on these two desirable outcomes of missionary education to some extent must be inferred. The correspondence alludes to them so frequently, and with so much deliberation and concern that it would be unrealistic not to expect that the matters were not as explicitly taught in the classroom. The reading materials described in a previous chapter stressed the virtues of abstinence and conjugal fidelity. These were the same reading materials used during apprenticeship. One can safely presume that school and chapel alike thundered the admonitions of the preacher and teacher who constantly warned against the evils of drunkenness and licentiousness. Winebibbing was disapproved of alongside fornication.

During apprenticeship the theme became more persistent. In the case of drunkenness, lapses had been viewed as more excusable during slavery. Perhaps then they were seen as an escape from the wretchedness of bondage. Drinking to excess, however, was viewed as a behaviour quite unbecoming for future freedmen. In the decade after slavery and apprenticeship, West Indian missionaries were to wage a campaign against drink with a zealous dedication.

The LMS missionary, Giles Forward, typified the disapproval felt by his brethren. Convinced that drink led to any manner of "nefarious practices" and "vile passions" he asserted that rum would prove "the means of keeping the negroes in ignorance and crime more effectively than slavery itself."[86]

Although the personal inclinations of the missionaries more often than not sympathized with teetotalism and pledges committing oneself to total abstinence, they were rarely insisted upon as conditions for membership in their churches.[87] The Wesleyans in Antigua resented the enforcement of the Pledge "to abstain from ardent spirits" on new members because total abstinence was not enforced in England.[88] However, all those who retailed spirits were liable for expulsion from the Society. James Cox was required to explain his conduct before a special Committee of Enquiry set up by the missionary body in 1843. He was reported to have required teetotalism as a condition of membership some seven years previously in 1836.[89] Cox, who had been described as "a fine florid specimen of water drinking,"[90] insisted that he had merely urged the children in the schools and the adults in society to sign the temperance pledge and had never compelled it. However, if as he claimed, nothing but "moral suasion" and "earnest entreaty"[91] were resorted to the later accusations by Brother Keightly that his influence was wholly pervasive on this matter seem accurate. Cox protested that there could be no evil construed in trying to prevent "the formation of an appetite for a drink" and that Wesley himself in his sermon "on Public Diversions" had advocated teetotalism to prevent the possibility of Christians leading others into the occasion of sin. Cox quoted,

> If you add it is not poison to me though it be to others, then I say throw it away for thy brother's sake lest thou embolden him to drink also. Why should thy strength occasion thy weak brother to perish for whom Christ died. 92

The fervour of missionary zealots on the matter is evidenced by the response of one LMS missionary to drinking and dancing. To stop the noisy revelling he resolved to pour out all the rum he came across. Unfortunately, he does not tell us whether he implemented his pious plan and we will never know the reaction his zeal might have caused.[93] By 1837 on Antigua alone there were approximately 1,700 members of Temperance Societies and these societies were scattered over several Estates and in many towns.[94]

As apprenticeship drew to a close many missionaries such as the Reverend Henry Ludlow Dixon were still not satisfied with the drinking habits of the negroes. Apparently they were continuing to sit up "late, if not the whole night injuring their health, ruining their characters . . ." and dancing to the "sounds they call music."[95] Whether the West Indian apprentices and freedmen were any guiltier than any other men on the matter of drinking to excess is doubtful and one cannot measure the actual drinking patterns of the population by the zeal of the missionaries. They saw drinking in itself, let alone drinking to excess, as a "wicked custom," in any society and among any people.[96] Their insistence upon it as a moral problem was more a reflection of their own moral stance than of any real situation. It might be suggested too that the missionaries were frustrated with their unremarkable success rates in attracting crowds of negroes to their schools and chapels. Their constant lamentations about drinking as a social "problem" can perhaps be seen in terms of a scapegoat for what they felt to be a failure of their own missionary impact. So long as the negroes preferred alcohol to God there was a moral obstacle preventing success and by drawing attention to "drink" they diverted attention from themselves.

A second crucial aspect of the campaign of moral reform in the preparation for freedom was related to the profound belief in the necessity for faithful spouses. Just as drunkenness had been condemned throughout slavery so too had concubinage, infidelity, promiscuity and any manner of related offenses againstthe holy institution of marriage. Slavery itself had provided the primary impediment to any previous reform in this area and during apprenticeship the problems relating to marriage were not easily resolved, due, primarily to legal ramifications of slavery.

Although one missionary, Phillippo. conceded that during slavery there were forms of slave marriages that reflected the customs and traditions of the people concerned, or were attempts to circumvent the constraints placed upon slaves to live monogamously, he remained convinced nevertheless that "every negro hut was but a common brothel, every female a prostitute, and every man a libertine."[97] The dividing into half of a cotta leaf with a piece taken by each partner was not seen as an equal troth as the vows taken in Christian marriage.[98]

Apprenticeship brought with it new problems. Although remaining virtually compelled to labour for their former masters, nevertheless, being no longer slaves, apprentices were able at least to contract marriage agreements. But what was to be done, for example, with the case of the converted woman who was living, unmarried, with a man by whom she had four children? It was unlikely that with a family of four dependents she would find a husband; yet with four children how could she leave the present man and support them? The Reverend Mirams advised her to live in chastity, refused her baptism, but generously reminded her on her deathbed that baptism was not requisite to salvation. Another example of the problems arising during apprenticeship was the case of the apprentice who had two women - one with three children, and the other with two children. Which should he marry? Neither woman, understandably, would give consent that the other be his wife. Yet he loved them both. He eventually chose to marry the woman who lived on the same plantation as he. "This of course made the other very much dissatisfied but I married him," reflected the missionary whose advice has been sought to settle the matter.[99]

These cases were not unusual for the period. The missionaries, by insisting upon marriage, further complicated the difficult problems which arose inevitably in a society so suddenly freed from slavery. Some scrupulous fellows were reluctant to baptize infants because they were the offspring of "spurious unions" or because one parent, usually the father, refused to marry the other parent.[100]

In addition to these matters of scruple the missionaries due to their insistence upon marriage were placed in yet another incongruous situation. Conjugal fidelity could only be an outcome of a legitimate marriage. Many christianized apprentices found that after slavery ceased officially on August 1st, 1834, all marriages performed before that date by a dissenting preacher were no longer recognized as valid. The marriages between slaves would not be recognized because slaves had been unable to contract legal marriage during bondage.[101] Those who, nevertheless, had new marriages performed under missionary admonition during slavery found they continued to be unrecognized after slavery. By 1836 all four societies were agitating about the West Indian Marriage Acts and in this agitation they sought the support of the Anti-Slavery Society.[102] When the matter was resolved in 1837 the official clergy agree to recognize previous marriages performed by dissenting missionaries.[103] This accommodation settled the issue.

For the Wesleyans the question of negro marriages was indeed perplexing because previous rules of the Society clearly stipulated that no persons could be admitted as communicants or church members while "living in concubinage" even if such unions were "firmed." Incongrously, this rendered many of their converts from the slave period whom they had married guilty of this very infraction during apprenticeship![104] The wrong of the situation was that no sooner were the negroes "elevated to the state of persons and freemen" rather than chattels or things, "then doubts were raised respecting the validity of their former marriages . . . and with this question the legitimacy or illegitimacy of their children . . . ."[105]

> The mass of the married negro members, at most of the mission stations, are reduced to the painful alternative either to submit to the unmerited reproach of living together in concubinage or, by being re-married according to the form required by law, thus to illegitimate their children, and render them incapable of inheriting property.[106]

Some negroes "in whom temptation proved stronger than principle" took advantage of the uncertainty and deserted their wives and children to marry again![107] In addition some areas of the West

Indies were subject to a scarcity of official clergymen and numerous illicit liaisons were formed which might otherwise have been regularized.

That missionaries did get involved in such complicated proceedings and that apprentices sought from them advice on matrimonial matters indicates how strenuously they insisted upon conjugal fidelity. One can imagine the zeal with which they preached about and systematically insisted upon it in their adult classes. The young apprentice in day school could hardly have escaped the message either; the past century taught its youth about such matters as fornication and drunkenness with an ease this century would balk at.

The content of instruction during apprenticeship remained essentially the same in kind and in quality as that provided during slavery. The methods of education scarcely altered. This is not surprising since the four year period of apprenticeship was not a long enough period to evidence any major shifts even had they occurred.

The two systems which pertained during slavery, the Lancasterian and the National, came to predominate under the auspices of government aid and the stipulation that education be conducted according to "liberal and comprehensive principles." In all fairness it must be said that the Baptists tended to "educate" more and religiously instruct less, leaving the former to their day schools and the latter to their sabbath schools.

Latrobe's Report of 1838 noted that most schools offered the "common branches," that is, the teaching of the 3 R's. The Wesleyans however tended more towards reading only and used monitorial methods less than the other societies. Latrobe mentions that the Baptists included some general knowledge, history, and geography, in their curriculum. The Infant School Method developed by Charles Mayo in England increased in popularity among the Baptists in Jamaica for it appeared eminently suitable even for the "volatile dispositions of the elder children."[108] With its use of rhythmic exercises and object lessons, the infant method, with its "playful movements" was a "powerful auxiliary" which relieved children's minds and prevented weariness. Thome and Kimball reported an increase in the application of the Infant Method on the part of the Wesleyans during this time.[109]

Outcomes of Education During Apprenticeship

The four years of apprenticeship, and what effectively amounted to three years of parliamentary assistance, saw a flurry of missionary activity in the erection and staffing of schoolhouses. These years also saw a slight move from strictly religious instruction to a new emphasis on non-religious branches of knowledge. However, generally speaking, the "flurry" was quantitative rather than qualitative.

For example, in 1836 the LMS had sixteen government schoolhouses and 2,000 scholars in British Guiana. The Society had contributed £1,553 and the Parliament grant, £3,000. The WMMS in Antigua had three government schools and 470 scholars at St. John's, Parham, and Sion Hill, in 1837. It also had nine other infant or day schools. The CMS possessed fifteen government supported schoolhouses in 1836, four in British Guiana and nine in Jamaica, with 400 scholars. It had contributed £1,250 for the erection of these buildings to match Parliament's £2,500. The BMS had four schoolhouses with 770 students having matched £1,100 with the Government's £1,270. During the four years the CMS had sent out thirty additional schoolteacher missionaries and eight clergymen to assist the government and the vestry schools.[110] The impact of these sources of funds upon the amount of education provided in proportion to the total population in these four years was not great as the figures provided by a 1839 BFSS Report indicates. The same report illustrates the indiscriminate eagerness of the societies to consolidate their influence. In Jamaica, 107 schoolhouses had been proposed and five actually built; in Antigua sixteen were proposed and only five built; in British Guiana, thirty-two were proposed and fourteen built.

Under the Negro Education Grant missionary education extended itself to its limits during the apprenticeship experiment. At no time did the Societies give more financial support. At no time was missionary education as popular. But, in the case of voluntary subscription philanthropy, vision is boundless but activity as limited as the incoming funds. Even when funds were matched on a one-third to two-third basis the missionaries could not fulfill their ambitions. Nevertheless, the tables below demonstrate that 10.3% of apprentices and free children received some portion of government, church, or missionary education exclusive of private education, which was probably given to whites and free coloureds.

STATE OF EDUCATION IN THE WEST INDIES[111]

TABLE A – AVERAGE ATTENDANCE AND POPULATION

Colony	Average Attendance				Population		
	Day Schools	Sunday Schools	Evening Schools	Total	Apprentices	Free Children And Apprentices	Total Population
Jamaica	9,789	16,806	3,946	30,541	300,167	347,921	447,921
Antigua	2,134	2,158	164	4,456	25,535	29,535	35,581
British Guiana	3,606	9,308	1,824	14,738	75,035	83,647	100,223
Totals	15,529	28,272	5,934	49,735	400,737	481,103	583,725

TABLE B – PERCENTAGES OF APPRENTICES AND FREE CHILDREN UNDER INSTRUCTION (BASED ON AVERAGE ATTENDANCE)

Colony	Types of Schooling			
	Day Schools	Sunday Schools	Evening Schools	Total in All Schools
Jamaica	2.8	4.8	1.1	8.8
Antigua	7.2	7.3	0.6	15.1
British Guiana	4.3	11.1	2.1	17.6
Total	3.2	5.9	1.2	10.3

Although the original aims behind the Negro Education Grant appeared to offer a promise of future interest in elementary education, this was not realized. By 1845 the last residue of the Fund was eked out and one suspects that it was with a sigh of relief.[112] Missionary education had been the backbone of schemes of education for the negro during slavery and during the apprenticeship. But its impact, although significant, was certainly neither universal nor extraordinary. The figures published in the preceding 1839 BFSS Report substantiate this observation. Of a total population of 583,725 free children and apprentices and freedmen, in Jamaica, Antigua, and British Guiana, at the end of 1838, only 49,735 were receiving instruction and only 3.2% were in day schools receiving a consistent education with 5.9% at Sunday schools. We might also assume many of these were included in the previous figure. Such figures only indicate average attendance although the same source for these statistics have details of scholars "on the books" and 75.3% of these were claimed in the average attendance. In actual fact, however, athough approximately 10.3% of the total apprentices and children of apprentices were receiving some form or another of missionary education, it cannot be assumed this was other than irregular, unsustained, and intermittent. Neither can it be accurately determined what percentage of this was strictly, or partially religious, and what percentage was in the more liberal and secular area.

The significance of missionary education lay in its being almost the only education offered to slaves and apprentices, apart from that given in the parish schools. However, it might be observed that education was provided to no less than a similar proportion of the working class population in Britain at the same time. It might also be observed that literacy skills can be acquired within a little time given the motivation of the scholars and do not require lengthy and sustained instruction over several years as is expected today.

The figures in the following table (C) are spotty and incomplete but the nature of the table merely reflects the sources which are themselves quite often incomplete. One must sympathize with Charles Latrobe's observation that accurate data was hard to come by, that the missionaries were ignorant of each other's proceedings, and were not very efficient in their record keeping. Whether this was deliberate or otherwise can only be a matter of conjecture. However, it must be observed that although adopting the posture of official comprehensiveness Latrobe's data collection was quite as often fragmented and his findings in some ways as limited as the missionary records. Confusions in the missionary records and returns arise out of whether the figures are to be treated as average or "on the books," whether they describe only parliamentary grant premises or all schools. Some include day, evening, and Sunday scholars, whereas others appear to only include day scholars. Thus the table below must remain only an approximate compilation. Indeed, the definitive work, William A. Green's British Slave Emancipation (1976) avoids making comparisons between attendance at the various denominational schools during slavery and apprenticeship, and one can only suppose the author of that comprehensive study was no nearer any more accurate means to establish such figures than the writer of this work.

TABLE C – INCREASE IN EXTENT OF MISSIONARY EDUCATION DURING APPRENTICESHIP*

	1831-33	1836-38
CMS (Jamaica and British Guiana)	13 schools 786 pupils	47 schools 4, 954 pupils
BMS (Jamaica)	14 pastors 24 churches 10, 838 members	42 teachers, 200-300 leaders 30 churches, 23 sub-stations 16 estate schools 18, 720 members 17, 781 enquirers 10, 903 pupils BFSS SCHOOLS 23 day schools - 2, 377 pupils 18 evening schools - 933 pupils 30 Sunday schools - 7, 702 pupils 1 Infant school - 70 pupils
WMMS (Antigua)	2, 321 in connexion 1, 812 pupils	2, 354 adults and children in schools
LMS (British Guiana)	2, 827 pupils	8 stations on grants 1, 344 day school pupils - "on the books"

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*The 1831-33 figures are taken from Chapter three of the text. The later figures come from the following: Proceedings for the CMS (1838-39); Annual Report of the BMS (May 3, 1838) and Report of the Jamaica Education Society, Ibid.; Minutes of Conference, 8, XCV:266 (1838) and The Report of the Committee of the WMMS 6 (1838-41); and Latrobe's Report, British Guiana and Trinidad (1839) 481-498.

Evangelization was the white educational response to slavery. With the granting of freedom to the slave the missionary impulse was no longer fired by the passion of outrage. Missionary work was no longer believed to be crucial in a society which bore all the trappings of European culture, government, society, and the Established Church. Threatened by signs of withdrawal of support from the London Societies, and afraid of denominational infringements on their existing influence, the missionaries sought to consolidate their positions and regarded their schools, government aided and otherwise, as the "nurseries" of their churches. Religious instruction still remained their main object. Although the demand for a moral and literate peasantry induced more secular intrusions into their curricula. A clearer dichotomy during these years was established between day schools and Sunday schools in that not all day scholars were necessarily church members or even sympathizers of the denomination whose school happened to be accessible. Generally speaking, however, the majority attendance at the day schools attracted those already sympathetic to the denomination concerned, a sympathy the missionaries overtly cultivated in their effort to win souls.

Conclusion

Although the education of apprentices and freedmen remained essentially a moral training and instruction in the principles of religion with some rudimentary secular learning, the final goal of education in the long run had less to do with the changing of attitudes and behaviours and more to do with motives or personal ambitions and denominational aspirations. These years, encouraged by injections of government aid and additional missionaries, were fraught with intensified rivalries. The urge to consolidate and extend that which had already been gained in numerical strength and territory culminated in a scramble for souls, one aspect of educating apprentices which had its least charming elements. The goal of consolidation will be left for the following chapter as its complexities involve some detail of sets of relationships and perceptions of missionaries toward each other.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

[1] *A Letter to the Right Honorable Lord John Russell From Thomas Fowell Buxton . . . On Certain Allegations . . . . For the Abolition of Negro Apprenticeship* (London, 1838).

[2] *Punishments Inflicted Under the Apprenticeship System* . . . . (London, 1838), pp. 376.

[3] A list of abuses is as interminable as it is depressing as is dealt with in the following extant materials.

Report of the Select Committee Appointed to Inquire Into the Working of the Apprenticeship System in the Colonies, Parliamentary Papers, 1837, Vol. 7; John Scoble, *Speech Delivered at the Anti-Slavery Meeting . . . . 4th April, 1838* (London, 1835); John Innes, *Thoughts on the Present State of the British West India Colonies* . . . . (London, 1840); James H. Thome and J. Horace Kimball, *Emancipation in the West Indies: A Six Months Tour in Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, in the Year 1837* (New York, 1838); W. E. Gladstone, *Speech Delivered in the House of Commons . . . . On the Abolition of Negro Apprenticeship, Friday, March 30, 1838* (London, 1838); Anthony Brough, *The Importance of the British Colonies in the West Indies: The Danger of a General and Immediate Emancipation of the Negroes* . . . (London, 1833); Joseph Sturge and Thomas Harvey, *The West Indies in 1837* (London, 1838); *Voyages to Jamaica and Seventeen Years Residence in That Island* (Belfast, 1838); and *Food and Other Maintenance and Allowances Under the Apprenticeship System* . . . . (London, 1838).

[4] Thome and Kimball, p. 7.

[5] *Negro Apprenticeship in the British Colonies* (London, 1837), and *The Permanent Laws of the Emancipated Colonies* (London, 1838).

[6] *A Statement of Facts Illustrating the Administration of the Abolition Law . . . in the Island of Jamaica* (London, 1837), pp. 35-36.

[7] William Law Mathieson, *British Slavery and Its Abolition 1823-1838* (New York: Octagon Books, 1967), pp. 272-273.

[8] E. Murray MacGregor to E. G. Stanley, 4th November, 1833, Item 158, CO. 7:37, PRO.

[9] MacGregor to Stanley, Ibid., and to Rev. R. Holbertson, The Rector of St. John's, The Superintendent of the Moravians, and the Rev. Mathew Banks, Superintendent of the Wesleyan Mission, Antigua, 3rd October, 1833, and 28th October, 1833, CO. 7:37, PRO.

[10] Sturge and Harvey, p. 33.

[11] A letter to Sir. E. M. MacGregor from the Board of Council and House of Assembly signed by the President and Speaker, Nicholas Nugent, CO. 7:37, PRO.

[12] Wray to Ellis, 4th August, 1834, Box 3, Br. G/B (1834-36) LMSA.

[13] Mirams to Ellis, 10th August, 1834, Box 3, Br. G/B (1834-36) LMSA.

[14] Act of Emancipation. Parliamentary Debates 3rd Series (1835-45), Vol. 17, 14th May, 1833, approved by the House of Commons, 12th June, 1844. Emphasis added. In 1837 Inspector Latrobe was asked to keep in mind "the liberal and comprehensive principles of the plan" and ascertain "whether each school is conducted on the principles." Instructions to Inspector 1837 (393) XLIII:311.

[15] CO. 318:118, PRO.

[16] CO. 318:118; CO. 318:122, pp. 80-85, 95-97, 101-104, 146, 148-155, 166-175, 204, 284-287, 381-433, 617-618; CO. 318:126, pp. 116-117, 123, 135-136, 154-157, 192-194, 258-260, and 277; CO. 318:130; CO.318:131, pp. 113-114, 118-135, 144-147, 153-154, 170-174, 237-238, and 240, PRO.

[17] CO. 137:190 and CO.320:1, PRO.

[18] CO. 318:122, pp. 80-82, PRO.

[19] Dyer to Lefevre, 8th April, 1834, CO. 318:118, PRO.

[20] Bunting to Lefevre, 16th April, 1834, Ibid.

[21] Circular to Wesleyan Missionaries, 31st December, 1835, CO. 318:126, pp. 135-136, PRO.

[22] Coates to Lefevre, 18th April, 1834, CO. 318:118, PRO.

[23] Coates to Buxton, 3rd December, 1834, CO. 318:122, pp. 82-85, PRO.

[24] Ellis to Stanley, 22nd April, 1834, CO. 318:122, PRO.

[25] Memorandum from Sir Lionel Smith to Lord Glenelg, in relation to a letter from Coates, 8th August, 1835, CO. 318:122, pp. 109, 101-104, PRO.

[26] CO. 318:118, PRO.

[27] Wray to Thomas Wilson, 3rd January, 1837, Box 4, British G. (1836-39) LMSA.

[28] Ellis to Sir George Grey, 1st March, 1836, CO. 318:126, pp. 192-194, PRO.

[29] Latrobe to Grey, received 20th November, 1837, CO. 318:130, PRO.

[30] Coates to Grey, 28th July, 1837, and Grey to Coates, 21st August, 1837, CO. 318:131, p. 122, PRO.

[31] Beecham to Grey, 12th May, 1837, CO. 318:131, p. 144-147, and Report Respecting the Twenty-Four Schoolhouses Which the WMMS Committee Have Engaged to Erect . . . 7th June, 1837, CO. 318:131, pp. 153-154, PRO.

[32] Ellis to Grey, 4th March, 1837, CO. 318:131, pp. 170-174, PRO.

[33] "Statement of Applications," 6th September, 1837, Ibid., p. 255.

[34] Dyer to Grey, 23rd February, 1838, and 25th June, 1838, CO. 318:139, pp. 196-197, 204-205, PRO.

[35] Memorandum from Grey, 21st July, 1835, CO. 318:122, pp. 617-618, PRO.

[36] Report to Rev. J. Sterling, 11th May, 1835, CO. 318:433, PRO.

[37] John Pinnington, "The Anglican Struggle for Survival in the Period of Abolition and Emancipation, 1825-50," Journal of Religious History 5, (December 1968): 136.

[38] "Negro Education," House of Commons Papers 29 (27th April 1836): 569.

[39] Latrobe to Glenelg, 14th August, 1838, CO. 318:137, pp. 16-37, PRO.

[40] Latrobe to Grey, Report received 20th November, 1837, CO. 318:130, PRO, and Instructions to Inspector 1837.

[41] Latrobe to Glenelg, 7th February, 1838, CO. 318:130, p. 5, PRO.

[42] Latrobe to Glenelg, 14th August, 1838, CO. 318:137, pp. 16-37, PRO.

[43] Quarterly Meeting of the BMS, 29th April, 1835, Minutes for October 23, 1824-November 30, 1837, Vol. 10, p. 37, BMSA.

[44] Committee Meeting, 11th December, 1834, Ibid., p. 11.

[45] Baptist Magazine (March 1838): 121.

[46] Knibb to Dr. Hoby, 11th August, 1837, John Howard Hinton, Memoir of William Knibb (London, 1849), p. 221.

[47] Knibb to Dyer, 6th September, 1837, Hinton, p. 225.

[48] Knibb to Dyer, 1st June, 1835, Hinton, p. 229.

[49] Cox to Beecham, 17th February, 1836, Item 13, West Indies Box 1833-40, WMMSA.

[50] Beecham to Chairman, Antigua District, 15th December, 1836, Outgoing West Indies November 1845-December, 1854, pp. 55-58, WMMSA.

[51] Rattray to Ellis, 14th March, 1836, Box 5, British G. (1836-38), LMSA.

[52] Scott to Ellis, 1st April, 1836, and 12th August, 1836, Box 5, British Guiana (1836-38) LMSA.

[53] The Missionaries to Ellis, 30th March, 1836, Box 5, British Guiana (1836-38) LMSA.

[54] Ketley to Ellis, 11th September, 1838, Box 5, British Guiana (1836-38) LMSA.

[55] One personal matter was related to the refusal of the LMS to send his nephew over to help him in his ministry. 13th March, 1837, Box 5, British Guiana (1836-38) LMSA.

[56] Ellis to Taylor, 31st October, 1836, Outgoing, November 1835-1837, p. 42, LMSA.

[57] Ellis to Rev. C. D. Watt, 11th March, 1837, Ibid., p. 490.

[58] Ellis to Missionaries, Box 1, Outgoing, November 1835-37, p. 274, LMSA.

[59] Ellis to Taylor, 31st October, 1836, p. 42. Also "To the Members of the LMS - Aid of His Majesty's Government Toward the Erection of Schoolhouses in the West Indies," Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle (January 1836): 31.

[60] Ketley to Ellis, 3rd June, 1836, Box 5, British Guiana (1836-38) LMSA.

[61] Taylor to Ellis, 2nd June, 1835, Box 4, British Guiana-D (1830-34), Watt to Ellis, 1st May, 1835, Ibid., LMSA. On Easter Monday on that year certain apprentices did not dance and carouse but instead repaired a house and were therefore ready to work the next day!

[62] A Public Notice, "To the Apprentices of St. Andrews Mountains Above the Hope Estate," August, 1837, CW/020/47, CMSA.

[63] Sterling's Report on Negro Education, 11th May, 1835, CO. 318:122, pp. 381-433, PRO.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Thirtieth Report of the BFSS (1835): 27.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Postscripts to the Royal Gazette, (August 15-August 22, 1835): 21.

[68] Ibid. [69] Ibid.

[70] John Innes, pp. 22-25.

[71] CO. 111:151, PRO.

[72] Stearn to Jowett, 25th October, 1834, CW/080/9a, CMSA. Sterling's Report also considered separation from parents as helpful for moral improvement.

[73] Dixon to Secretary, 1st January, 1838, CW/033/15, also Achison Findley, a schoolmaster in St. George's parish to Secretary, 31st December, 1838, CW/037/9, CMSA.

[74] Public Notice, August 1837, CW/020/47, CMSA.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Cox to Beecham, Item 19, 16th July, 1836, West Indies Box 1833-40, WMMSA.

[77] Garling to Bunting, Item 18, 18th June, 1836, West Indies Box 1833-40, WMMSA. The catechism is not to be found. Sturge and Harvey who visited Antigua during the apprenticeship period and reported their findings on the condition of the freedmen there observed that the Cox catechism comprised salutary content regarding civil, moral, and social duties, but fifteen pages were "devoted to the inculcation of subordination, and other duties of the lower classes, and one page only to the duties of the upper classes." P. 20.

[78] The particular edition of the Antigua Herald is missing.

[79] Sir William M. G. Colebrooke to Clenelg, 26th March, 1838, CO. 7:50, PRO. Latrobe's Report made similar observations.

[80] Proclamations, "To the Free Labourers of First August," 13th August, 1838, "To the Freed Men and Women of the First of

August," 8th October, 1838, and "To the Head People and Foremen of the Estates," 30th August, 1838, CO. 111:158, PRO.

[81] Sligo to Glenelg, 18th March, 1836, CO. 137:210, Enc. 386, PRO.

[82] Sturge and Harvey, p. 267.

[83] Rev. B. Dexter, Clarkson School, Stewart Town, Jamaica, and Knibb's Report, 31st December, 1838, Suffield Normal School, Falmouth, Jamaica, Report of BFSS (1839): 125 and 129.

[84] Ibid.

[85] CW/077/1, CMSA.

[86] Giles Forward to Ellis, 12th February, 1838, Box 4, Br.G/B (July 1836-39), LMSA.

[87] One LMS missionary was required to defend himself against being "a brandy drinker." He pointed out that once when he had bowell trouble in England he had occasionally used "brandy and water" for medicinal purposes! Wray to Ellis, 17th August, 1836, Box 4, Br.G/B (July 1836-1839) LMSA.

[88] Minutes of Committee, District Meeting, Antigua, 26th January, 1838, West Indies (1835-37), p. 15, WMMSA.

[89] Antigua Special Minutes of Enquiry held 3rd January, 1843, and letters by James Cox and J. Keightly to General Secretaries, April 18, 1842, Item 19, West Indies Box 1841-1844 WMMSA.

[90] Sturge and Harvey, p. 50.

[91] Antigua Special Minutes of Enquiry, op. cit.

[92] Ibid.

[93] R. B. Taylor, July 23, 1836, Box 5, Br.G/D (1836-38), LMSA.

[94] Thome and Kimball, pp. 22-26.

[95] Dixon to CMS, 1st January, 1838, CW/033/15, CMSA.

[96] Ibid.

[97] James Mursell Phillippo, Jamaica: Its Past and Present State (London, 1843), p. 219.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Kenyon to Ellis, 26th March, 1837, Box 4, Br. G/B (July 1836-39) LMSA.

[100] E. Corner, Diary, 20th August, 1837, CW/029/4 and 5th October, 1837, CW/029/5, CMSA.

[101] Archdeacon Parry to Governor MacGregor, Antigua, 12th August, 1835, Item 159, CO. 7:41, PRO. Parry asks whether the Wesleyans were "irregular" to solemnize marriages at all during slavery especially as allowed concubinage or "firming" was customary during that time. Also see R. Hawkins to John Beecham, 15th October, 1836, Item 20, West Indies Box 1833-40, WMMSA.

[102] J. Beecham to Rev. John Edmondson, 26th November, 1836, Outgoing West Indies, November 1845-December, 1854, pp. 43-52. Beecham reports a memorial on the matter by the WMMSA has been forwarded to all the West Indian governors. "Observations on the State of the Laws Relating to Marriage in the Emancipated Colonies" by R. Matthews, Appendix 26, Report on Negro Apprenticeship 1836 (56) XV. 1:641-647.

[103] Antigua District Minutes, 30th January, 1837, West Indies Box 1835-37, p. 12, WMMSA.

[104] "Negro Marriages in the West Indies," Report of the WMMS, 1837, Appendix C (I), pp. 92-99; Copy of a Memorial to Lord Glenelg, 24th February, 1836, Lord Glenelg to the Governors of the West Indian Colonies, 15th March, 1836, Appendix C (II), Ibid., pp. 99-100; Report From Select Committee on Negro Apprenticeship, 13th August, 1836, Appendix C (III), Ibid., p. 100.

[105] Ibid., p. 94. [106] Ibid.

[107] Ibid. and Sturge and Harvey, p. 24, and "Observations on the State of the Laws Relating to Marriage . . ." P. 245.

[108] Thirty-First Report of the BFSS (1836): 81-83.

[109] Thome and Kimball, pp. 30-32.

[110] Coates wrote that West Indian expenses from the CMS went up from 905. 14. 10d. in 1834 to 19, 193. 19. 1d. in 1838! Coates to Labouchere, 26th June, 1839, CO. 318:145, p. 98, PRO.

[111] These figures are extracted and compiled in the table from the BFSS Report (1839): 114-115.

[112] Circular to Secretaries of BMS, WMS, Mico Trustees, Moravian Missionary Society, Scotch Missionary Society, CMS, SPG, and Ladies Negro Education Society, 4th September, 1845, CO. 319:42, p. 102, PRO.

By this shall all men know that
ye are my disciples, if ye love
one to another.

John 13:35.

There remains yet very much land
to be possessed, and I see nothing
except the natural depravity of our
own hearts, to prevent cordial union
and co-operation between us.

Evangelical Magazine and
Missionary Chronicle
(March, 1835).

CHAPTER VII

THE SCRAMBLE FOR SOULS

Introduction

During slavery, the main power group, the plantocracy, was perceived by missionaries as the common enemy. Throughout apprenticeship other enemies were to emerge. Curiously, these enemies were other missionaries who were perceived to be vying for influence and busily staking their claims on the souls of negroes. Intra and inter-denominational feuding and discontent replaced the previous solidarity of the missionary cause against the anti-christian tyranny of slave owners. The previous bonds between the various denomination, it seemed, had been more of a unity against a common enemy and far less a sense of christian fraternity. The "significant others" remained that "small band of missionaries in the islands"[1] — but with a difference. The new frame of reference reflected a sense of rivalry and competition with each other rather than mutual supportiveness. Instead of a self-sustaining reference group united by "true and vital Christianity," there occurred a breakdown into separate conflicting reference groups which led to anxious self-appraisals and invidious comparisons with each other.[2]

If there occurred a discernible shift in the relationships of the contending missionary groups, there also occurred a shift between the relationships of missionaries and apprentices. Although some missionaries observed "the surprising docility" of ex-slaves still clinging to attitudes from "the past conditions of their servitude," the missionaries themselves were to prove not especially instrumental in changing the low self-esteem which was the result of slavery.[3] Indeed, the missionaries came to view the apprentices as potential rivals for positions of christian leadership, so too one might presume that the apprentices came to alter some of their perceptions of the missionaries during this period.

Missionaries and Missionaries

Because each missionary group saw the schools as "the nurseries of the churches,"[4] education was seen as a means to an end, that is, as the instrument by which to gain future church members and active converts to a particular set of christian beliefs. In the scramble for souls, inter-denominational feuding became inevitable and the result was a sullen sectarian warfare. Phillippo, a Baptist in Jamaica, recognized the situation and typified the urgent sense of territorial imperative.

> The whole land is before us and when once we take possession of it, which we as a denomination are doing in a most unexampled manner, the warfare to a great degree will be over. 5

In turn, the CMS missionary, Reverend Betts, expressed his indignation at such sentiments and cynically remarked that "all seek their own, not the things that are Jesus Christ's."[6] However, within three years of this statement another CMS agent, Mr. Newman, resented the fact that the children around him attended the nearest school but worshipped in the nearest Wesleyan chapel on the sabbath.[7]

In that same year, Betts himself disclosed a not dissimilar irritation in a letter in which he pointedly stated that a particular area, Ramble Pen, was building a government aided Wesleyan school while only two miles from it there was a CMS school. The CMS school of one hundred scholars had been built four years previously. Another CMS school close by at Knockalva had also received a government grant. Still another CMS school had been built at Argyle Pen which was also relatively close to Ramble Pen. Betts was disturbed by the intrusion of Wesleyans rather than the fact that the CMS itself might have been building too many schoolhouses in a limited area.[8]

The Baptists in Jamaica reacted strongly to the initial entry of the LMS in their domain in 1835;[9] yet they themselves were the most resented and envied of the missionary groups for it appeared by the end of apprenticeship that their "chief object" was "to gain numerical strength."[10] As the other denominations had the same object the Baptist success must have been a major source of resentment and envy.

The CMS missionaries were so fearful of losing ground to dissenters that they claimed they should not charge fees for attendance in their schools.[11] Josias Cork of the CMS felt "surrounded" by dissenters and observed that inter-denominational feeling ran high enough for Baptists and Methodists to brawl over "separate burial grounds."[12] Well might the Jamaican Anglicans have felt surrounded. Between 1831-45 the Baptists grew from 10,000 to 34,000 and the Wesleyans doubled their numbers in the same period.[13]

Neither was dissent in accord with dissent! Indeed one of the most convincing arguments given by the committee to those British Guiana LMS missionaries, who were reluctant to receive aid, had warned them that "other superintendence" would take advantage of the aid and intrude upon their territory. If other denominations received aid and the LMS did not, they would eventually lose their "influence and control."[14] John Wray was known to have murmured that the Church of Scotland in Berbice was baptizing the apprentices "wholesale."[15] The LMS correspondence revealed that the missionaries in British Guiana had been "divided among themselves" during slavery and this situation worsened during the apprenticeship period. Their suspicion of other denominations increased and they themselves squabbled over theological issues.[16] The fear of intruders forced them to present a front - united enough for a CMS missionary to decline a station on the East Coast because the LMS was buying up land to consolidate their position there and prevent intrusion.[17]

Apart from the desire to accumulate souls for the greater glory of God, the drive towards consolidation was due to a nagging fear of loss of financial support from the parent societies. Budget cutting was as ruthless a procedure in the nineteenth century as today and to prevent it the missionaries played upon the fears of their societies by pleading incursions from other societies as well as from the "papists." A saved soul came to be seen as a saved Anglican, Baptist, Methodist, or Congregational soul, and fear that conversions would decline replaced Christian charity.

It had always been realized by the missionaries that theirs was a temporary role in West Indian society; necessary during slavery and apprenticeship but dispensable in freedom. The tardiness of the respective societies in providing funds could not have escaped the missionaries' notice. From a free population they hoped for a generous outpouring of donations and subscriptions which might enable them to move towards a closer approximation to that much encouraged state of "self sufficiency." If they could achieve this goal and permanent churches be established so too might they be able to remain as pastors and not missionaries. Missionaries, having established themselves among a people to whom they became spiritual confessors and religious leaders (and whom they came to love), certainly had no desire to acclimatize themselves to a new land, perhaps more alien and distant, such as Africa, India, or China. And because the opposite to perceived success is perceived failure, each denomination distorted the influence of others, and in the resultant comparison, schisms and rivalries increased alongside a growing sectarianism.

Neither was the presistent advice given to the missionaries from the outset, that they were to train up a native agency to replace a European agency, a reassuring matter. They were always being encouraged to work themselves "out of a job" and the final proof of their success ironically was to be measured in these terms. Herein, of course, lay the seeds of a dilemma. Although success might be so measured it seems a predominant inclination not to do oneself out of a job, but to keep oneself in a job, altruism or Christian idealism notwithstanding! The missionaries who during slavery agitated for emancipation were in a sense embarking upon the inevitable and perilous journey to their own replacement. Ideally speaking, the world ought to have been their parish; but the emotional, cultural, and spiritual investment they gave to their appointments as well as the ties of friendship and leadership they established cannt be overlooked in their pathetic struggle to remain in the West Indies. If they wanted to remain at the work they had begun such reactions are understandable. The all too often vindictive greed and competition exuded by them tell us again that neither vice nor virtue are the monopoly of any given group of men.

For long established missionaries such as a John Wray or a William Knibb, the prospect of a new appointment, a sorrowful departure, or a premature retirement must have induced great anxiety. Newly appointed missionaries in the less troubled years after slavery felt the anxiety of young men eager to prove themselves and settle into some established or semi-permanent position.

Of all the dissensions between groups, none reached the bitter and corrosive extremes as what came to be known as the question of the "Purity of the Baptist Churches." The main antagonists were the Jamaican BMS missionaries and their LMS counterparts.[18]

A LMS missionary, W. G. Barrett, began the controversy on Christmas Eve, 1835, when he wrote with very little of the Christmas spirit that the Baptists were opposing other missionaries with their "bitter and systematic opposition."[19] That he perceived a natural resentment to "LMS proceedings" as systematic, that is, conscious, ill-willed, and conspiratorial, was a view he never relinquished and afterwards managed to convince others of, including residents not only of Jamaica but as far afield as Britain. The LMS, embarrassed at their missionary's lack of restraint concerning the "defects" of the Baptists, found his words to be "an affront" to the BMS. Private correspondence on the matter discouraged further comment and suggested that an apology was due to baptist missionaries,[20] whose reputations were "traduced" by the criticisms. According to the Secretary of the LMS that matters of "such a delicate and serious nature should become the subject of common gossip" was "an injury to the common cause of Christian missions."[21] What were these "delicate and serious" matters that other missionaries reproached the Baptists with?

The reproaches made by Barrett and later by other missionaries were both personal and specific. Phillippo was characterized as "a ravening wolf [who] seeks the fold which he has scented from a distance." In addition, class leaders and ministers were accused of "fornication" and of "serpentlike guile" associated with the "wicked tyranny of designing men."[22] Henry C. Taylor, Baptist missionary, was accused of being both a fornicator and an "unconverted" man, and illiterate, expelled leaders were said to have opened their own churches into which they admitted persons "living in open whoredom."[23]

The two parent societies, the BMS and the LMS, reluctantly entered the confrontation. They hesitated to engage in public dispute because they knew the division would bring scandal to the common cause of evangelical religion.[24] In addition, the LMS did not want further attention because it was receiving scrutiny in another area concerning one of its Secretaries, Mr. Hankey, who apparently owned a considerable estate in Jamaica named "Arcadia" and was refusing Mr. Vine, a society missionary there, a portion of it for a mission. Moreover, the LMS was fearful of a public showdown because it did not want the public to understand the extent of its inferior position in Jamaica, where they were clearly "coming in second" to the Baptists. The issue, however, could not be hidden or minimized once the press exposed the rupture.[25] The views expressed as late as 1842 represented public opinion on the unfortunate nature of the controversy.

> . . . . much of the wisdom of the serpent, as well as the harmlessness of the dove, is indispensable on the part of our missionary brethren . . . do not think that we imagine the purity of the church and the safety of souls as matters for sinful silence or unworthy compromise. We are conscious only that if controversy in such topics must be sustained it may be done with meekness of wisdom and the gentleness of Christ. 26

A specific contention surrounded the "ticket and leader system" utilized by Wesleyans but imitated in the Jamaican situation by Baptists. This system was a practical method of keeping an account of church members and the number of conversions,[27] as well as collecting financial support for the churches and missions. Tickets were sold each quarter to those who were communicants. They cost two shillings and sixpence and demonstrated that the owner of the tickets was permitted to receive communion having undergone a satisfactory religious instruction which had culminated in a conversion. Class leaders and deacons decided who was worthy of baptism, the sign of conversion, and who would therefore receive the tickets. Obviously such a system could lend itself to abuses. Friends or relatives of a leader might convince him they were converted and obtain tickets to show at chapel when they had not in fact been truly converted. They may not even have been baptized at a mass baptism for a missionary could not be expected to remember all those he had immersed. The leader if he were so tempted, might bribe some to purchase tickets, who had not demonstrated unquestionably their worth either pocketing the money himself or bringing to himself a more creditable image as a leader able to convert others.

Given the mass baptisms and huge church attendances, missionaries from other societies doubted that many of those Baptists who purchased tickets had in fact undergone the necessary strenuous instruction to make them "saved" Christians and not merely nominal ones.[28] The tickets, it was said, were often confused with "gre-grees" (African charms)[29] and the "Bow-down Baptists"[30] mixed their religion with charismatic revival, obeah, myalism, and other African superstitions. The outcry about tickets was in some ways reminiscent of the furore over the sale of indulgences some four hundred years before! Some communicants it was reported had merely bought a ticket and believed it was a "passport to heaven" and when they died the tickets were clasped in their hands.

With numerous tickets in circulation, admission into the baptist churches was seen by critics as "too easy and indiscriminate."[31] In 1836 Mr. Slatyer of the LMS spoke with two young negro women about their not attending his chapel although the baptist chapel they did attend was ten miles away and held services only once a month.[32] They explained their behaviour in terms of taking "ticket," just as others claimed certainty of their salvation because they "join class."[33] Slatyer's complaint was probably motivated by the "decline in novelty" of attending his chapel and school. Would he have murmured less had things been going well for him? Barrett's prime motivation was also due to the discouraging attendance at his school. He noted that the baptist class leaders had "larger congregations" than he and that the "poor deluded creatures" imagined that a ticket purchased was a qualification "for heaven."[34]

Another complaint was that the leaders were often said to be illiterate. At this juncture one sees the confusion made between the native Baptists[35] and those who came under the influence of BMS missionaries. If abuses or laxities did in fact occur, being totally "unlettered" was certainly not one of them as far as BMS leaders and deacons were concerned. This is not to say they were theologians or academicians, for the Baptists themselves confessed that during apprenticeship two to three hundred leaders had suddenly recruited — "a class of helpers adapted to the circumstances and wants of the Jamaican population."[36] Even if adaptations were made to suit the urgent circumstances and the recruits were of modest intellectual and literacy achievements, nevertheless, the Baptists had been consistent proponents of minimal literacy as crucial to religious instruction and it would have been most surprising had they compromised this to the degree of having chosen illiterate class leaders.

Some of the reports issued by the Baptists themselves do however make one suspicious of the profoundness of the spiritual experiences of the baptized. For example, in 1836, Reverend

Oughton attended a prayer meeting at Montego Bay of "several thousand" who proceeded "en masse" to be baptized. One hundred and seventy negroes were immersed by two ministers on this rather spectacular occasion.[37] Phillippo admitted early in the apprenticeship period that given the urgency of the need to establish a free church some "compromise" would have to occur. However, he insisted the critics of this compromise must take into account

> . . . that most of our converts . . . . have emerged from a state of semi-heathenism [and] it is scarcely to be expected they should endure a critic's eye or that there should not be found amongst them occasional inconsistencies and sins 38

Burchell also confessed that tickets were given because of the dispersed and numerous membership and that sometimes he and his deacons could not recognize the authenticity of members without identification. Tickets were therefore intended to regularize membership. One might presume irregularities did occur if ministers had so many to attend upon. Indeed Burchell says as much when he adds that "the propriety of the plan is evident as I frequently detected by this means improper characters who had obtruded themselves at the table."[39] The Baptists were not helped by the defection of Mr. Reid to the LMS camp. The most vociferous in his condemnation of "tickets," he was joined by several other Baptists notably Coultart and Whitehorn.[40] Such defections did not improve Baptist credibility.

A close examination of the lively correspondence over the "impurity" question leads to several conclusions. Firstly, there was without doubt some infraction of the ideal pre-requisites for church membership. But Phillippo's preceding observation makes this understandable, even without some concession to the mortal weaknesses of men involved in a rather competitive business for the souls of other men. Unfortunately one does not gain a sense of confidence in the sincerity or righteousness of the accusers, although their complaints were always couched in the language of scripture and religious conviction.

Neither can it be ignored that the LMS, so recently arrived in Jamaica, had to compete with a well established body of missionaries, and ones to whom the negroes looked for leadership. The baptist advocacy of the slaves during the preceding period was not forgotten especially since they continued to give to the cause of apprentices. They had earned the trust of the negro population, and whatever their talents were able to attract by their particular brand of preaching and worship a majority of the christian population. That so many missionaries and clergymen of other denominations attacked their practices, of emotional singing, extempore praying and baptism by immersion suggests that these heart-felt expressions of religious experience were an important factor in their popularity. That baptism by immersion was a major attraction for apprentices can be seen in the quiet desperation expressed by a Berbice christian negro. He was a member of a LMS chapel and Independents did not practice immersion. In a sermon to other apprentices he made a point of discouraging their insistence upon baptism by immersion. The ceremony however had so captured their imaginations that they were disappointed that they would not undergo it and some defected.

Although the negro concerned preached emotionally against the practice and attempted a crude sort of theological explanation one senses he found it difficult to convince his listeners.

> Some of you say we want baptise; but me look, me no see such fruit. What good den baptise do you? Me not care even if dem tie rope to you foot and dem haul you in dis riber Berbice dat got so much water. If you no forsake you sin baptise can't help you. Water can't wash away we sin 41

The evidence suggests that the LMS simply could not compete with the charisma of a William Knibb, the teaching skills of a James Phillippo, and the administrative proficiency of a Thomas Burchell, to say nothing of the religious emotionalism allowed by baptist worship. In Jamaica such theologically based advice as was given by the preceding negro preacher could not replace the processions, the white robes, the sunbathed rivers and streams, the rhythmic preaching, the vibrant hymns, along with the psychologically liberating rituals associated with "immersion."

During slavery there had been some mutual suspicion between missionary groups but it had been kept under control. The arrival in Jamaica of the chief instigator of controversy, William Garland Barrett, simply raised it to a new level of consciousness. A highly strung man, given to hysterical malice and suffering some personal and nervous strain not assauged by the lack of success of his mission in Jamaica. Barrett aroused the ire of many of his brethren although it was Mrs. Barrett who wrote the letters to Britain which were drawn to the attention of the LMS committee. Barrett heeded the rumour mongering of his son-in-law, Mr. Reid, who being a baptist missionary apostate can not be entirely depended upon for the accuracy of his accounts. Barrett's later suggestions that the original warm welcome given to LMS arrivals by BMS missionaries was actually a pretence must be taken cautiously also. The LMS arrivals had been given considerable hospitality and Barrett had even stayed with the Baptist, William Knibb for some time after his arrival. In 1834 Joshua Tinson had warmly welcomed Barrett, Slatyer, and Hodges of the LMS and given them afternoon "tea."[42]

Even if there is some basis to the "purity" controversy, particularly with reference to ticketing, one must conclude that the inordinate desire for consolidation was the root of the problem. Barrett said as much when he wrote bitterly that the Baptists were "taking the bread out of our mouths." He would have preferred, he said, not to be a "conservator" of the "discipline and purity" of the baptist churches in Jamaica had the LMS "been allowed to do good" there. He protested they were not "permitted to retain undisturbed possession of such spheres of labour" and had they been thus permitted the "exposure would have been prevented."[43]

The exposure he referred to was the abuse of ticketing, the reputed immorality of baptist leaders, and the rumours circulating of bribery and laxity. Rather than seeing the exposures as rendering his "faulty brethren important service" as he claimed we can only see his actions as "purely retaliatory."[44] He and the others were retaliating against the baptist success, explaining it in terms which would partially justify their own comparative failure in attracting apprentices to LMS schools and chapels.

The concern of the CMS can be similarly explained. Theirs was also a comparatively weak position, weakened further by the official Church's lack of support for them. The CMS officially met with the BMS in May 1838. Once the meeting took place, the furore going on in Jamaica was brought before the British public. The Baptists felt the unfairness of the criticisms. One missionary, Joshua Tinson, pointedly commented in a reply to Reverend Panton, a clergyman and member of the CMS Auxiliary Committee, the following: -

> I am told the country was to be parcelled out amongst the different denominations and no-one was to open a new station without consulting his neighbour - very fair and friendly in appearance to be sure; but if some proprietor should offer a piece of land within a mile of a baptist chapel and the Bishop should accept the offer, would his lordship consult the baptist missionary? 45

Not all dissension between missionaries occurred between the various denominations. The urge to consolidate contaminated relationships within the denominations as can be best demonstrated in the case of the LMS in British Guiana. The elements of dissension in the LMS case are those found among other missionary groups and include jealousies, hostility towards the setting up of a Central Correspondence Committee to oversee the activities of missionaries,[46] and the antagonisms between junior and senior missionaries.[47]

In British Guiana "the father of the mission," John Wray, alienated three younger missionaries Mirams, Haywood, and Kenyon. They resented his influence over apprentices, his "little jealousies," his "ungovernable temper," his interference in their affairs and his control over the Central Committee.[48] But mostly they resented his monopoly over converts. By December, 1835, an open rift occurred between Wray and his loyal son-in-law, James Howe, and the three younger men.[49] The younger men found Wray's conduct arbitary. He refused to make his accounts public, or to pool his congregation's funds as was required by the Central Committee.

The "long protracted dissension"[50] was in the long run scarcely worth the pen, paper, and passion that went into it. It is enough to add that it culminated in Mirams, the chief instigator, being brought before a solemn and ridiculous "tribunal" of missionaries to investigate the affair, a procedure which Wray found humiliating and scandalous. He refused to sit on it recognizing that he would be a less than impartial witness.[51] The remaining tribunal members, Giles Forward, Samuel Haywood and Joseph Ketley overruled his request and insisted he remain as he was the chief witness! The decision of the "judges" reveal the extent of the rift - truly a house divided against itself.

> The Committee considering that under all circumstances Mr. Mirams could not beneficially continue in the Berbice Mission, are induced to recommend his return to Europe - though nothing that has been brought before them will lead them to conclude that he might not be employed as a useful and efficient missionary in any other part of the missionary field.[52]

The final absurdity was reached when there resulted from this decision still further squabbling over the amount of money to be given the chastened Mirams for his return expenses! A more sober side to the feuding, however, occurred when John Wray and his son-in-law died within two days of each other in June 1837 and Wray's daughter, Elizabeth, very soon after. The deaths took place immediately after the two men had returned to Berbice from an unpleasant and inhospitable meeting with the Demerara brethren in unseasonable weather. The other missionaries who had snubbed and quarrelled with Wray were chastened by guilt for some time after the incident.[53]

The factionalism which developed among themselves and between rival groups during apprenticeship increased as relationships between missionaries and planters became slightly more cordial. Missionaries still viewed the planters with some suspicion and planter contempt but slightly diminished. However, mutual perceptions altered according to the altered circumstances of a society emerging from slavery and embarking upon an experiment with freedom.

Missionaries and Planters

The planter group recognized the usefulness of a sound religious training inculcating those virtues necessary for an industrious peasantry. Although free villages did not spring up often under missionary auspices until after apprenticeship, the planters shrewdly anticipated such an event and decided that further opposition to education would only antagonize apprentices. Ignorant and alienated freedmen would certainly move from estates and plantations into their own villages with their own land once freedom was declared. Planters previously opposed to education became enamoured of it for the labour of negroes was to be kept at all costs.[54] As missionaries were the major educators, co-operation with them was imperative.

Because the missionaries had become confidants of the apprentices some Governors recognized that they might be used as mediators between planter and apprentice interests. The missionaries responded to such faith in their ability to conciliate differences and gave advice to apprentices about the new policies of the transition period.[55]

The Societies themselves took differing positions on the matter of conciliation. The LMS, for example, initially requested their agents to abstain from such political mediation; on the other hand the Director wrote to them that they must prove themselves as "the friend of the negro."[56] The negroes looked to the missionaries "for advice in everything that concerned them." Therefore the LMS agents claimed that they could not in conscience be "neutral observers of what passes."[57]

The missionaries observed that many planters resented their new role as mediators. Many planters, however, grudgingly admitted that the missionaries were "administratively useful" as "functionaries" to read, explain, and interpret the laws and regulations of apprenticeship to the indentured population as well as to collect statistics for government and planter use.[58] Nevertheless, the missionary felt he owed "a duty to the employee" while he was "under protection of the law."[59] When missionaries were unable to reconcile disputants they referred them to the civil magistrate, a situation the planters were not entirely satisfied with, even though the magistrate would usually be partisan toward planter interest. Missionary Howe of Berbice remarked on the unusual attendance of whites on the mission services "not for the gospel" but to hear how the preachers spoke "about the law" and whether the sermons cast the planters in a favourable light.[60]

Sometimes "the law" itself was not appreciative of missionary mediation as in the case of James Mirams who was accused by a Special Justice of the Peace of "tampering with, and advising the apprenticed labourers" not to "accede to any propositions" about wages or hours of labour.[61] Mirams actually contested this slander on his character in The Guiana Chronicle, on 22nd August, 1834, after being suspended as a missionary and a minister of Lewis's Chapel for his supposed political meddling.[62]

The suspicion of missionaries and planters was mutual. Missionary Scott agreed with a similar comment by Mirams that accusations of "meddling" would never have been heard had the missionaries been willing to lend themselves to the attempts "to deceive and impose the negroes."[63] Scott added that he had heard a "respectable gentleman" conniving against the apprentices.

> What they [the planters] cannot get by stealth they'll get by force - they will exact the same labour as before, force the children to be apprenticed, or force them off their properties and thereafter depriving parents of provision grounds. 64

The suspension of Reverend Mirams increased the other missionaries' suspicion of the planters. When missionaries preached that apprentices ought to be grateful for the "generosity" of the masters in freeing them "at loss to themselves," as Samuel Haywood had done in 1834,[65] they may well have been trying to appease planters who might then be encouraged to support their educational efforts. The private opinions about planters were in total agreement with the LMS missionary who wrote to the Director of the society that a manager was "deplorably debased" and "full of uncleanness." They likely still saw all the planters and their managers as wallowing "in pollution and filth" in their "resting place."[66]

Although missionary mediation was deemed by some planters and governors as useful, baptist mediation was seen as generally suspect. Governor Metcalfe in 1837 referred to them as a "political party," although William Knibb demanded that he retract the description. Apparently, however, Reverend Betts of the CMS agreed with Metcalfe for a year later he remarked that where the baptist missionaries had influence they were "exciting the peasantry to stand out for high wages and the whites are exasperated against them. Their influence among the people exists in agitation."[67] Sturge and Harvey also noted the baptist involvement in political matters by praising it in their Report and comparing it with the political inactivity of the Methodists.[68] The Baptists, as during slavery, did not object to being identified with the negro cause although they resented being viewed as primarily political activists rather than active Christians. As early as 1834 they had lodged a formal protest to the Colonial Office against "An Act to Enlarge the Power of Justices in Determining Complaints Between Masters and Servants and Between Masters, Apprentices, Artificers and Others."[69] In 1836 the Baptists were reported in The Jamaica Herald and The Watchman to have disciplined a deacon apprentice who had punished another apprentice in his capacity as a headman.[70]

The West Indian press was apparently as virulent against the Baptists during apprenticeship as during slavery for Knibb declared it "polluted" and "degraded." With his typical flare for the histrionic declared in the months immediately preceding complete emancipation that "a Baptist missionary's blood would be the most acceptable offering to the expiring monster."[71] Sir Lionel Smith, who replaced Lord Sligo as governor, addressed himself to the Baptist Committee a year after apprenticeship had ended and conceded that during the period since Abolition there had been calumnies "industriously circulated" by the planters against the Baptists but they had been "proportioned to the good they had done in exposing oppression and guiding the negroes in their moral and religious improvements."[72]

In 1835 Knibb had protested the flogging of a female apprentice to Governor Sligo,[73] and proudly written to Sturge in 1837 that "all but three" who were employers in his congregation manumitted their apprentices after he had delivered a particularly fine sermon advising them to do so.[74] In addition, he organized combinations of labour at public meetings and warned his congregation of apprentices against doing business with the newly established "company stores."[75] Knibb quite clearly still perceived the planters with the old pre-Abolition distrust. In 1838 he was in the public eye again, this time filing criminal charges against the editor of The Cornwall Courier for defamation. Another missionary, Samuel Oughton, was involved in similar proceedings. So popular had Knibb become as a charismatic folk-hero that it may be suspected a less interesting figure such as Oughton may have been trying to "out-Knibb Mr. Knibb!"[76]

During the brief four year interlude between slavery and freedom, planters lost some of their anti-missionary feeling. Remnants of it remained in the press and in the private prejudices of individual planters but generally they were more restrained in their resentment.

While not abating in their anti-planter feelings, the missionaries realized they were now placed in a somewhat more promising relationship with the dominant class. Injections of aid gave them euphoric optimism in their educational campaigns. Freedom was almost won and the British public was not about to sympathize any longer with planter interests. Finally, the missionaries themselves recognized that their services were "needed" by the planter class. Besides these, their passions were being spent in their own disputes and dissensions, and focusing less on the planters.

Missionaries and Apprentices

Missionary perceptions of the apprentices were in part a reflection of the atmosphere of fear and suspicion they created among themselves. The urge to consolidate was reflected in the desire to secure their positions especially with the added impetus of government aid. Just as the fear of withdrawal from the West Indies increased their anxiety about success rates - either of attracting scholars or of winning converts - this same fear of redundancy shaped their perceptions toward the more ambitious Christian apprentices.

The perceptions of the majority of the missionaries to slaves had been evidenced by their involvement in the anti-slavery campaign, their written statements, and their recorded actions. On the whole, the missionaries were less racist than others in the society. However, during apprenticeship a shift of perception began to show itself, a shift which was the offspring of a compelling desire to consolidate, that is, to secure their existing spheres of influence. On the one hand, the ill-used apprentices needed protection, mediation, training, and leadership; on the other hand, if trained, they were potential usurpers of the leadership positions coveted by missionaries. These two perceptions explain the ambivalence of the missionaries who were in fact preparing not only the apprentices but themselves for the coming of freedom. The ambivalence arose out of their position in society as a group of men committed to the otherwordly ideal of self-denial, yet involved in the reality of somewhat insecure futures and precarious positions. The solicitiousness required by the first goal naturally conflicted with the expediency required by the second. It was on the issue of the preparation of a "native agency" to replace the European missionary agency that a hardening of attitude toward ex-slaves can be observed.

In 1835 Phillippo privately advised that the "blacks" were "lacking in the moral and intellectual talent" that was required for the successful training up of a native agency. He added that the "browns," that is, the mixed race, had more potential in this area.[77] This is an interesting comment for the reference is now to genetic transmission rather than to previous status. Further to this, one can only conclude that he viewed those ex-slaves with some European background as having superior faculties and potentialities. This is clearly a racist sentiment and a strange shift from the man who was nothing if not a champion of negro rights. Indeed, his book Jamaica - Its Past and Present State contains no racist sentiment. Indeed, in it he goes as far as to assert that

> . . . there are now to be found among the black population . . . comprehending individuals of every

> tribe; operatives, mechanics, and masons, carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths, sailors, pilots, veterinary surgeons, and medical men, shoemakers, cabinet makers, carvers, and gilders, watch-makers, jewellers, who manifest as much skill and perform their work with as much accuracy and taste as workmen of the same description in England.
>
> So far from being now ignorant of civil polity and of the use of civil institutions, it is questionable whether any people in the world . . . possess an equally correct acquaintance with these subjects. 78

This public statement which catalogued the abilities, wit, and insightfulness of the blacks concluded that neither were the "intellectual faculties of this calumniated and oppressed people in any respect inferior. . . ." This is hardly in accord with the notion earlier expressed that these same people were not as adept as the "browns" in becoming a native agency.

Phillippo's observations in the 1835 correspondence on the training up of a native agency is representative of other missionary views. To employ the blacks, he anticipated, would be like "reaping the harvest before having sown the seed." More had to be trained in the "process of science of teaching," in which knowledge as matters stood they were woefully deficient. They had little aptitude for communicating the little knowledge they had and seemed unable to select and grade materials appropriately; rather they tended to be "ostentatious, mystical, ambiguous, indirect, and verbose."[79] In addition to these pedagogical weaknesses most negroes also had moral ineptitudes. They exhibited a lack of public shame and as a result their "social and domestic habits" were not yet of the desirably "superior order" required for teachers of religion or of any other subjects for that matter. As yet even those who were married imperfectly understood the institution with the result that there was "a total lack of regulation of family life among the lower orders."[80]

As for the existing classrooms conducted by apprentices they rarely reflected obedience which was founded on "love and respect;" instead they were "the slaughter houses of human intellect and human sympathies."[81] The natural outcomes of slavery such as oppression, caprice, passion, and severity were prevalent in their schools because slavery had taught them "fraud and perfidy," the complete opposites to ordinary virtues. It is difficult to believe these statements came from the same man who had insisted they were in no respect inferior.

During his inspectorate Charles Latrobe also believed that competent teachers would not be available from among the native population for many years to come given the limitations placed upon selection by "the suddenness of the call to educate."[82]

In agreement with Phillippo's private sentiments as to the real potential of the mixed race, C. F. Haensel of the CMS qualified his optimistic views of the "capabilities of the coloured population" by referring to the "exception of the lowest field negroes."[83] It must be noted that the field negroes were almost always the most "African" of the slaves not only culturally but also as far as colour was concerned. The lighter coloured slaves were usually viewed favourably and were given certain advantages in the slave hierarchy such as working as domestics rather than praedials. Admittedly the praedial population because of their lower status and their labour had less contact with either the education and the civilities associated with white society; but it is clear their deficiency was associated with the current views of what constituted acceptable colour.

Haensel expressed a view not dissimilar to Phillippo's with regard to those apprentices of some European heritage compared with the Africanized apprentice. He felt that the "mixed race," if socially advanced as catechists or teachers, would be less morally endangered by this mobility; indeed, "they would not be in the same danger of descending in inward lowliness" as they rose in "outward station."[84] In other words the blacks would become more arrogant than the "browns" if given social opportunities. If he was referring only to the free coloured population he was probably acknowledging that these people had enjoyed more accessibility to European sensibilities than ex-slaves although West Indian society had never granted them privileges merely on account of their free legal status. When Haensel advanced this view he once again added a qualifier which said that even in the case of the mixed race such a rise in outward station ought nevertheless be "very gradual and should proceed through the various stages of subordinate employment."[85]

Members of the missionary societies who sat on the London committees and who directed the affairs of the missions without the personal involvement of the missionary were less sympathetic when it came to matters of class and of race. Although they had always insisted on the training of a native agency to replace their missionaries and relieve them of further financial strain, they were reluctant to leave the mission in the hands of an "uneducated" ministry. Reverend Ellis of the LMS exhorted Henery, a coloured catechist, that each man had "his own proper department" in the "various orders of men." He added,

> Every man and every Christian especially should bear in mind that it is the motive, spirit, temper, and fidelity with which any duty is undertaken and discharged that gives value to its performance. 86

As Henery had suggested he be ordained to the ministry clearly this was a pious attempt at keeping him in his place.

Reverend Ellis later approved of another coloured man's ordination, Christian Headecker, but once again he deferred permission for Henery's. Ellis argued that a strong case of necessity ought to exist "to our justifying any deviation from the views we entertain of the disadvantages and evils of an uneducated ministry."[87] In all fairness one must acknowledge that arguments of the same kind had been made regarding the ordination of unsuitable white candidates in England itself and that Independents had consistently feared an "uneducated" ministry among their ranks as was so often the case of the Wesleyans in Britain. In this particular case, however, Ellis' reluctance to ordain Henery was based not only on the catechist's rather badly spelled and enunciated letter to London, which in itself must have raised the eyebrows of the Directors, but on the British Guiana missionaries' strong recommendation not to entertain Henery's ordination. The Berbice missionaries said that Henery only wanted "more money" and that he was after all, a "half educated" man. Their recommendations they argued were thus not based on "any prejudice regarding colour" but that, although the day would come when the "despised children of Ham" would provide Christian leadership, the time was not yet ripe.[88]

Two years after apprenticeship ended in 1840, the London Committee of the CMS wrote to the Reverend Panton in Jamaica that the rising local expectations of European catechists be quelled because "their want of education and talent" would be more conspicuous if they were ministers. A more dangerous consequence was that "even the normal youth [the negroes in training] think their turn must come."[89] Although written after apprenticeship, this fear of the sudden rise and take-over of the negroes was not new: it had arisen during the preceding years. If European catechists were excluded from ordination due to increased expenditures in salaries, it can be seen how unacceptable was the ordination of coloured catechists, even without racist reasons.[90]

Haywood's remarks on the matter of ordination for native catechists included the observation that they generally had "an extreme ignorance of themselves" since they had been taken from their previous occupations with little preparation. Admittedly they had more knowledge than the apprentices to whom they were sent but the unfortunate consequence of this fact was they assumed "all the airs of dignified individuals" and "considered themselves superior beings" in their preaching and lecturing.[91]

Thomas Burchell, a Baptist, had views which were a little more moderate. The native agents, he believed, had "piety enough" but their other achievements were "very meagre indeed."[92] A fellow Baptist, Joshua Tinson, agreed when he observed that it was "not to the men, but their present want of fitness that I feel compelled to object."[93] However, Tinson admitted that these same unfit men could and did "exhort and conduct a prayer meeting acceptably." Very often they effectively took over worship entirely where there was no minister.

These missionary views suggest a certain hardening towards matters of race. It may be that this hardening was due to a class conflict, that is an emerging new class with rising expectations posing a threat to the existing leadership. The anxiety and the new rigidity of the missionaries is to some extent grounded on this factor. However, there remains a suspicion that the common racial views of the society as a whole were more acceptable to the missionaries now that the burden of the guilt of slavery was lifted. The literature on racism indicates clearly and frequently that the white race has been enamoured with its own genuis and progression. There is a strong possibility that the missionaries too were contaminated by such views.

During slavery it behooved the missionaries to be non-racist, benevolent and on the side of the oppressed. But in times when financial support was declining, when parent societies were urging self sufficiency and the training up of a native agency to take over christian leadership, the missionaries could no longer afford to be quite so expansive. Their personal positions interfered with their religious convictions and they saw the native agency as a threat to themselves.

This might be a cynical point of view and like many historical interpretations it must remain tentative. When the missionaries observed that the population was virtually uninstructed and that this posed dangers in training up an "uneducated ministry," they were after all telling the truth. The ex-slaves were as a whole pitifully untouched by education. Even the educated, the native agency for example, possessed but a limited proficiency. The arguments about the danger of leaving the West Indies in the hands of ignorant men may have been not only sincere but valid. Finally we must consider Thomas Burchell's observation that in the four years of apprenticeship there had simply not been enough time to train an adequate native agency and that "this is not the age of miracles." He went on, "it is scarcely reasonable to expect that the negro church can grow from infancy to manhood in a day."[94]

The fact was that due to the clamour over slavery the missionary societies in London had found themselves almost by chance in the West Indies and the British public's purse strings had been loosened in proportion to the perceived miseries of slavery. With freedom the public was disaffected and the societies no longer saw a reason why they should remain. The hardening of position on the part of the missionaries suggests that the apprentices were realizing that the Acts of the Apostles did not exclude simple and unlearned men from positions of leadership and that in those far off times "piety" was enough!

William Knibb, as early as 1831, had sensed how negroes must have felt at the battery of criticism levelled at the ticket and leader system. The self-righteous opposition to this system was logically an attack upon the superstition and ignorance of the negroes who participated in it. Thus, Knibb lamented the plight of the "hapless negro, when the very men sent out to instruct him take part with his persecutors and attribute all his piety to robbery and witchcraft."[95] The apprentices must have felt resentment at the bitter recriminations which arose out of the "purity" question. To be publicly declared ignorant, superstitious and even dishonest must have both outraged many of them and violated their sense of integrity.

It would be a mistake to assume that apprentices were not aware of the contradiction between the christian message of charity an the christian lack of it during this unfortunate episode in the history of christian missions in the West Indies. What must they have thought if they chanced upon the following text?

> Let all bitterness and wrath and evil speaking be put away from you . . . and be ye kindly, tenderhearted and forgiving. 96

This was the message implicit in the gospel brought to the negro apprentice. It had been used to minimize the negro's sense of indignation at past wrongs and to moderate the residue of hatred that must have lingered in the oppressed toward the oppressor. If, however, the missionary himself could not temper his hostilities, the lesson must have rung untrue.

The apprentices concerned must have recognized the contempt contained within the criticisms directed at the Baptist practices and the ticket system. The apprentices came to realize that they and their children were pawns in a numbers game as missionaries vied to attract them into their schools, keep them in attendance there, and save perhaps their souls into the bargain. The public criticisms of each other must surely have left some imprint on the minds of christian apprentices. There is evidence that some apprentices, especially those who saw themselves as potential Christian leaders, did not merely intuit the insults in the criticisms but actually understood the reality of racial discrimination in their lives.

The catechist, William Henery, was one of them. Henery wrote a letter to London inquiring about his request for ordination. It was a letter which bore all the marks of "a defective education." But Henery was able to speak both Dutch and English, an advantage in British Guiana and one which few missionaries had. Also he had the support of the apprenticed labourers of Rossfield Plantation, Berbice, who also wrote requesting he serve them as a minister to marry and baptize them neither of which a catechist could do.[97]

Henery himself approached his "defective" education pragmatically. He pointed out with little attempt at sophistication but much common sense that the estates on which he worked rarely had distinguished visitors of "high standing or education" and it seemed better to him that empty stations be filled by ordained native ministers rather than remain vacant.[98] However, by 1839 he and four other native agents were writing humble and deferential replies to the LMS in London, thanking them for their "instructive and admonitioning" letters. It was apparent they deemed it better to be underpaid, underprivileged, and unordained native agents rather than lose the little status delegated them by their better paid, privileged, and ordained white brethren.

However, the pacificatory views written to Henery from Ellis about "the various orders of men" did not entirely silence him. He rather boldly pointed out that native teachers received a quarter of a missionary's salary yet missionaries complained that their salary was inadequate. Clearly he recognized theories about the "various orders of men" as rationalizations for racist views. He and other coloured catechists claimed catechist salaries were so much lower "because they were brown men and not white, for if they were white men their worth and need would have been seen long ago."[99] This statement clearly rejects the platitudes offered to him and others in his situation that a faithful servant "derives a present reward and shall stand in his lot at the end of the day."[100] As native catechists were paid by the apprentice congregations and not the LMS their lot was "very precarious and uncomfortable."

The four years of apprenticeship were ones of an increased desire for instruction. The apprenticed population believed that the means to some social mobility after apprenticeship might be gained through literacy; they therefore perceived the missionaries as the bearers of valuable gifts. The labour compelled by the conditions of apprenticeship prevented most of the labourers from realizing this. That socio-economic relationships especially those between capital and labour, were to alter so little after freedom could not have been anticipated by most apprentices. Even those with literacy skills found social mobility difficult if not impossible. Nevertheless, Wray and Mirams were probably correct in their view that the apprentices looked upon the missionaries as the sole providers of education. They also remarked upon "the great desire of the Corentyne people for instruction," a desire so great that they travelled twelve to sixteen miles to learn to read.[101]

Thus in all likelihood the christian apprentices perceived the missionaries and their own christianization during this period as a means of succeeding in a society that promised them their freedom. As far as the Baptists and Methodists were concerned such a perception was fairly accurate particularly if such success was to be measured by status and responsibilities within their churches. It was less so for the other two societies. It is to be hoped that the other missionaries had successfully taught apprentices to have faith in God alone and not in men and institutions, for if they had not, many apprentices must have come out of that period with shattered hopes.

Conclusion

During Apprenticeship there occurred changes in missionary perceptions of each other, of the planters, and finally of the slaves. Throughout the period the missionaries' main urge was to maintain and strengthen the spheres of influence they had parcelled out for themselves as individuals and as denominations during slavery. They wanted to make secure their positions among the negro population and consolidate their denominational strength. In doing so they quarrelled with each other and among themselves; they succeeded also in alienating a section of the apprentice christian leadership because in securing positions for themselves they resorted to racial attitudes. Their perceptions of the planters were largely unaltered although realizing the usefulness of missionary education for a free society the planters became more co-operative. At this period in West Indian history some optimism and much money was vested in education for the negro population. However, the hopes of this population were diffused among rival groups and matters of expediency became stronger than ideals.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

[1] See above, p. 182.

[2] Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (revised ed.; Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957), pp. 283-287.

[3] Scott to Ellis, August 27, 1833, Box 4, Br. G/D (1830-35) LMSA.

[4] Ellis to Hugh Brown, August 28, 1837, Box 2 Outgoing (July 1837 - November 1839) and James Mursell Phillippo, Jamaica: Its Past and Present State (London, 1843), p. 423.

[5] Edward Bean Underhill, Life of James Mursell Phillippo (London, 1881), p. 139.

[6] Betts to Secretaries, September 1, 1835, CW/020/4a, CMSA.

[7] Newman to Jowett, March 9, 1838, CW/062/10, CMSA.

[8] Betts to Chairman of Jamaica District of WMMS, January 3, 1838, CW/020/18, CMSA.

[9] Mr. Vine observed the Baptists had demonstrated "unrelenting opposition" to LMS incursions in Jamaica. Vine to Ellis, February 19, 1839 and March 5, 1839, Box 2, West Indies Jamaica (1839) LMSA.

[10] Panton to Coates, May 13, 1838, CW/065/31 and October 25, 1839, CW/065/38, CMSA.

[11] Cork's Journal, September 18, 1839, CW/028/18 and to CMS March 29, 1838, CW/028/20, CMSA.

[12] Panton to Jowett, July 30, 1839, CW/065/64, CMSA.

[13] Philip D. Curtin, Two Jamaicas: The Role of Ideas in a Tropical Colony 1830-1865 (New York: Atheneum, 1970), p. 162.

[14] Ellis to Watt, June 28, 1835, Box 1, Outgoing British Guiana (November 1835 - November 1837), p. 321.

[15] Wray to Thomas Wilson, May 18, 1837, Br. G/Berbice (1837) LMSA.

[16] Berneau, a CMS missionary refers to LMS infighting in a letter to Jowett, August 11, 1835, CW/018/26 and May 30, 1836, CW/018/17, CMSA.

[17] Ibid.

[18] The "purity" question is the main content of the following: - Samuel Green, Baptist Mission in Jamaica: A Review of W. G. Barrett's Pamphlet Entitled A Reply to the Circular of the BMS Committee (London, 1842); Evangelical Magazine (March 1835): p. 127; On Conversion: The First Circular Letter of the Baptist Missionaries to the Churches in Jamaica (Jamaica, 1836); Letter of the Committee of the BMS to the Churches of Christ in Jamaica (London, 1843); and Edward Steane, Statement and Extracts of Correspondence Relating to the Baptist Mission in Jamaica Occasioned by the Misrepresentations of the Rev. Richard Panton (London, 1840).

[19] Barrett to Ellis, December 24, 1835, Item 44, Box 1 West Indies Incoming Jamaica (1834-36) LMSA.

[20] Ellis to Barrett, March 31, 1837, and to Wooldridge, Hodge, Barrett and Slatyer, April 14, 1837, Box 1 West Indies Outgoing Jamaica (November 1835-July 1837), pp. 520 and 529, LMSA.

[21] Ellis to Slatyer, April 14, 1837, and to Wooldridge, Vine, Alloway, Slatyer and Barrett, June 29, 1837, Ibid., pp. 532 and 549. To Slatyer, July 9, 1838, Box 2, Outgoing West Indies Jamaica (July 1837-November 1839), p. 268, LMSA.

[22] Barrett to Ellis, Item 22, March 30, 1836 and Slatyer to Ellis, Item 45, September 1, 1837, Box 1, West Indies Outgoing Jamaica (November 1835-July 1837).

[23] Taylor to Ellis, Item 8, February 10, 1837, and Item 15, March 22, 1837, Box 2, Outgoing West Indies Jamaica (July 1837-November 1839).

[24] The following correspondence indicates the initial reluctance and the growing compulsion. Outgoing West Indies Jamaica, Box 2 (July 1837-November 1839) and Box 3 (December 1834-June 1843); Incoming West Indies Jamaica, Boxes 3 and 4 (1839); Statement of the Committee of the BMS Addressed to the Directors of the LMS, Fen Court, 2nd July, 1841; Statement of the LMS to the Committee of the BMS (n. d.); and "Minutes of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Brethren in Jamaica Held at Chapelton, March, 1843." LMSA. Also see Committee Meetings 1835-1842, BMSA and "An Exposition of the System pursued by the Baptist missionaries in Jamaica by missionaries and Catechist of the LMS in that Island," 17th November, 1842, p. 204, BMSA.

[25] The Jamaica Herald (March 7, 1836). Various papers kept track of the affair over the next years including the Colonial Reformer, The Baptist Herald, The Christian Examiner and The Falmouth Post.

[26] Tidman to Vine, June 1, 1842, Box 3, Outgoing West Indies Jamaica, p. 414, LMSA.

[27] Baptist numbers necessitated some such method. For example in 1838 there were 30 churches, 23 sub-stations, 16 estate schools, 10,903 students, 200-300 leaders, 42 teachers, 18,720 members and 17,781 enquirers. Annual Report of the BMS (1838), p. 16.

[28] "I see no reason to conclude that the large and rapid increase in the baptist churches in Jamaica - unparalleled as far as I know in the history of protestant churches in any other part of the world, has arisen from an extraordinary outpouring of the influence of the Holy Spirit, but rather for admission to the church being too easy and indiscriminate." Wooldridge to Tidman, January 29, 1842, Box 4 (1842-44) LMSA.

[29] Panton said the ticket system differed little from the old African superstitions and the recipients were "perishing in their sins and stand in as much need of instruction as the zooloos." Panton to Jowett, July 30, 1839, CW/065/34, CMSA.

[30] Panton called them "bow-down baptists" - a satirical description of the questioning of a member who was asked at conversion, "Who bowed you down brother?" that is, "Well friend, what or who induced you to think about religion?" Steane, pp. 7-9.

[31] Wooldridge to Tidman, January 29, 1842, Box 4 (1842-44) LMSA.

[32] Slatyer to Ellis, Item 13, February 23, Jamaica (1834-36) LMSA.

[33] Barrett to Ellis, Item 5, February 19, Jamaica (1838) LMSA.

[34] Barrett to Ellis, Item 44, March 30, 1836, Jamaica (1834-36) LMSA.

[35] Green, pp. 19-21.

[36] Annual Report of the BMS, Thursday, May 3, 1838, p. 16.

[37] W. F. Burchell, Memoir of Thomas Burchell (London, 1849), p. 309.

[38] Phillippo to Secretary, Auguat 8, 1835, quoted in Underhill, p. 143.

[39] Green, p. 27. It must be noted that Burchell himself did not think the system entirely infallible because he was known to "spy out" his own leaders and deacons for improprieties. Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle (August 1837): 398.

[40] Report of the Jamaica Committee to Ellis, March 8, 1837, Box 2, Item 12, Incoming West Indies Jamaica (1837-39). Whitehorne was dismissed by the BMS in 1841 Jamaica Morning Herald (October 11, 1842), in Minute Book H, (October 14, 1841-December 29, 1841), p. 25, BMSA.

[41] Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle (July 1836): 32. Jacob Sessing of the CMS claimed the attraction was the assurance by Baptists that immersion was the only way to salvation. Journal entry, May 7, 1838, CW/075/23c, CMSA.

[42] Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle (1835): 127 and Green, p. 8.

[43] Green, p. 8.

[44] Green, p. 5.

[45] Tinson to Panton, March 11, 1839 quoted in Steane, pp. 11-14. An interview with a BMS sub-committee, 20th October, 1838,

is documented in Steane, pp. 7-9 and The Baptist Magazine (January 1839): 32.

[46] Panton to Coates, October 10, 1836, CW/065/19; Haensel to Coates, August 8, 1836, CW/044/3 and Coates to Panton, March 31, 1836, L2 (1834-39), p. 187.

[47] Panton to Jowett, May 18, 1839, CW/065/31. There were "divisions between those who have conducted the mission from its commencement [and] those who have been comparatively unacquainted with the business" of the mission. Also Howe to Ellis March 7, 1836, Box 3, Br. G/Berbice (June 1834-1836) LMSA.

[48] Haywood to Ellis, January 5, 1836; Kenyon to Ellis, December 17, 1835; Parish to Ellis, February 9, 1836; Ellis to Ketley, July 12, 1837, Br. G/Berbice (June 1834-1836) LMSA.

[49] Howe to Ellis, March 7, 1836, Ibid.

[50] "Meeting Held at Lewis Chapel House, 13th January, 1836" by Mirams, Haywood, Kenyon, Ibid.

[51] "Brief Analysis of Minutes of Proceedings of the Committee of Investigation in Berbice, September 8-September 19, 1836," Box 4, Br. G/Berbice (July 1836-1839) LMSA.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ketley to Howe, June 12, 1837, Box 5, Br. G/Demerara (1836-38) LMSA.

[54] Howe said education would complete in the apprentices' minds "the most unshaken principles of loyality and good order." Howe to Ellis, April 14, 1836, Box 3, Br. G/B (1834-36) LMSA.

[55] A circular was distributed among missionaries in British Guiana by government requesting they explain the apprenticeship laws to their congregations. Howe to Ellis, April 14, 1836, Box 3, Br. G/B (1834-36) LMSA.

[56] "A Circular to the Brethren in Jamaica, Berbice and Demerara," May 30, 1838, Box 2, Outgoing West Indies (July 1837-November 1839), p. 260, LMSA.

[57] Mirams to Ellis, August 18, 1834, Br.G/B (1834-36) LMSA.

[58] Scott, Ketley, Watt, Rattray, to Ellis, February 13, 1835, Box 4, Br.G/D, LMSA. Item 6, Cox to Beecham, August 13, 1834; Item 8, November 7, 1834, "Replies to the Governor's Circular For the Best Means of Encouraging the Peasantry." Item 3, January 1835 and a Copy of the Reply to Governor MacGregor, Box Antigua (1835-36) WMMSA.

[59] Scott, Ketley, Watt, Rattray, to Ellis, February 13, 1835, Box 4, Br.G/D (1830-35) LMSA.

[60] Howe to Ellis, August 25, 1834, Box 3, Br.G/B (1834-36) LMSA.

[61] William Henery to Mirams, August 7, 1834, Box 3, Br. G/B (1834-36) LMSA.

[62] Mirams was engaged in a law-suit against a Mr. MacKay who had been harrassing him.

[63] Mirams to Ellis, August 18, 1834, Box 3, Br.G/B (1834-36) LMSA.

[64] Scott to Ellis, August 22, 1834, Box 4, Br.G/D (1830-34) LMSA.

[65] Haywood to Ellis, September 6, 1834, Box 3, Br.G/B (1834-36) LMSA.

[66] Taylor to Ellis, May 15, 1837, Box 5, Br.G/D (1836-38) LMSA.

[67] Betts to Secretaries, August 14, 1838, CW/020/29; CMS Jamaica Auxiliary to Jowett, July 30, 1839, CW/065/34 and October 30, 1839, CW/065/38, CMSA. John Howard Hinton, Memoir of William Knibb (London, 1849), p. 350.

[68] Birmingham Philanthropist (6th or 8th June, 1837), Item 18, 1st August, 1837, Box Antigua (1833-40) WMMSA.

[69] Passed in House of Assembly, Jamaica, July 3, 1834. CO. 318:139, pp. 217-218, PRO.

[70] Jamaica Herald (February 15, 1836) and The Watchman (March 25, 1836). The case was reported to the Colonial Office CO. 318:126, pp. 270, PRO.

[71] Hinton, pp. 347-348. The British Emancipator (September 19, 1838), described "a hellish plot to murder Mr. Knibb." P. 261.

[72] Sir Lionel Smith to Committee, December 20, 1839, Committee Meeting, June 3, 1840, Book G (November 7, 1839-October 11, 1841), p. 63, BMSA.

[73] Knibb to Sligo, June 30, 1835, Hinton, p. 229.

[74] Knibb to Sturge, July 11, 1837, Hinton, p. 241.

[75] Hinton, p. 284.

[76] Philip Wright, Knibb The Notorious (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1973), comments that Knibb had "an incurable itch for publicity." Pp. 146 and 165.

[77] Phillippo to Sligo, October 24, 1835, and Sligo to Glenelg, October 25, 1835, CO. 137:203, pp. 284-285 and 288-293, PRO.

[78] Phillippo, pp. 200-203. He devoted a chapter to the "Intellectual Character of the Black People Under Slavery." Pp. 188-215.

[79] Phillippo to Sligo, October 24, 1835, op. cit. Missionary Dixon of the CMS referred to "their busy officiousness" and "want of solidity and depth" in 1842. Dixon to Coates, July 4, 1842, CW/033/28.

[80] Phillippo to Sligo.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Latrobe to Glenelg, August 14, 1838, CO. 318:137, PRO.

[83] Haensel to Coates, March 27, 1835, CW/044/1, CMSA.

[84] Ibid. [85] Ibid.

[86] Ellis to Henery, August 30, 1838, Box 2, Western Outgoing (July 1837-November 1839) LMSA.

[87] Ellis to Haywood, January 30, 1838, Ibid.

[88] Haywood to Ellis, April 5, 1838, Ibid. He wonders about the effects of a "half educated man" in England surrounded by inferiors and that this problem is magnified among negroes.

[89] London Committee to Panton, February 27, 1840, and August 1, 1839, CW/065/42, CMSA.

[90] Ashby, Faber, Cork and Pollitt were European Catechists who were refused ordination. In 1837 there were four missionaries, 10 European Catechists, five Coloured Catechists, and two coloured female teachers with the Jamaican CMS. In 1838 there were nine Catechists of colour and three female teachers of colour. Coates to Panton, August 1, 1839, L2 (1834-39) p. 332 and Proceeding of the CMS (1837-38).

[91] Haywood to Ellis, June 5, 1839, Box 4, Br. G/Berbice (1836-39) LMSA.

[92] Burchell, p. 325.

[93] Missionary Herald (March 1838): 133. Knibb agreed but insisted education was the remedy. Hinton, p. 214 and Knibb to Rev. Upton, June 13, 1839, W1/3, BMSA.

[94] Burchell, p. 325.

[95] Knibb to Dyer, November 7, 1831, Hinton, p. 204.

[96] Ephesians 4:31-32.

[97] Apprenticed Labourers to the LMS, September 25, 1837, Box 4, Br. G/B (July 1836-39) LMSA.

[98] Henery to Ellis, December 15, 1838, Ibid.

[99] W. Rose, A. Jansen, C. Farrell, C. Headecker, to Ellis, January 1, 1839, Ibid. and Henery to Committee, May 11, 1839, Box 2 (July 1837-November 1839) LMSA. Emphasis added.

[100] Ellis to Henery, August 30, 1838, Box 2, Western Outgoing (July 1837-November 1839) LMSA. Henery is sent off to Williams Hope Estate in 1839. Tidman to Haywood, December 16, 1839, Box 3, Western Outgoing (December 1839-June 1843) LMSA.

[101] Wray to Ellis, September 18, 1834; Mirams to Ellis, August 18, 1834; Howe to Ellis, June 29, 1835, Box 3, Br. G/B (June 1834-36) LMSA.

Inspector Latrobe thought the proprieters were tinctured with past prejudices against universal education and that the populace was not hungry for education as irregular attendances indicated. It appears that his first observation might explain his second. Charles Latrobe, Jamaica, pp. 71-72.

And I have said I will bring you up out of the affliction of Egypt . . . unto a land flowing with milk and honey.

Exodus 3:17.

The hour is at hand . . . the monster is dying . . . The monster is dead; the negro is free!

William Knibb (1838).

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The day of emancipation, 1st August, 1838, concluded a phase of evangelization, peculiar to the West Indies, that had emphasized preparing the slave and apprentice for freedom. The preparation had been maximally moral, minimally intellectual, and fundamentally religious. When Phillippo was hoisted "shoulder-high" by his congregation on that day, and when Knibb, with his usual flair, conducted "funeral rites" for the "monster" - burying a whip, chain, and iron collar in a coffin - they recognized that this occasion was as significant for them as for the negro population.[1]

The day was peacefully and joyfully celebrated throughout the rest of Jamaica, Antigua, and British Guiana. The monster was dead, the negro was free, and the missionaries who had lived alongside them both throughout the periods of slavery and apprenticeship undoubtedly savoured the thought that they had been "good and faithful" servants. At this juncture it is appropriate to review the work they had done.

The fundamental urge to evangelization derived from the tenets of "true and vital christianity" as distinct from nominal christianity. The Arminian "commandments" which contributed to these tenets included those of rescuing man from his vices, morally reforming the society in which enthusiastic Christians were to engage in good works, and saving the heathen from his ignorance. Man was redeemable and his institutions therefore improvable. Those who became agents of the various missionary societies were motivated by religious convictions expressed in the imperative to "Go forth into all the world and preach the Gospel."

At that time, the West Indian Church was remiss in fulfilling its missionary duty among the slaves; missionary societies thus believed they must supplement the deficiency. Their duty however consisted primarily of converting slaves and not liberating them. Nevertheless, a belief in the spiritual equality of all men was common to the missionaries despite their theological or organizational differences. Further to this, all missionaries believed that christianizing and civilizing the slave were synonymous. Indeed this fusion was requisite to the effectual preparation of slaves for freedom. Christianizing was seen to be the foundation stone of all order and morality in a civilized society. It would of necessity produce a loyal and industrious peasantry. A christianized society, moreover, would graciously acknowledge all blessings as deriving from God and civilization a worthy reflection of His benevolence.

Recruited from the lower middle classes, the missionaries were practically minded and able men, with talents peculiarly appropriate to the harshness and rigors of missionary life. The rigorous training, often in unhealthy and harsh conditions, and the low missionary status within the West Indian power structure provided convincing evidence of the intensity of their commitment to preaching the gospel. They "offered" themselves to be instruments to realize the christian vision of a society emancipated from both the slavery of sin and the sin of slavery. The latter, however, was not to come through political agitation but by moral suasion and purely legal means. Primarily concerned with freeing bondsmen from the slavery of sin, the missionaries encouraged and built churches and schoolhouses and developed the various methods of religious instruction including preaching, catechizing, oral instruction and monitorial systems common to the time. With its comparative freedom of method and unusually progressive features, the Infant System was a particularly startling phenonemon in a slave society.

It might be asked if the actual instruction offered to slaves and apprentices consisting as it did of primarily moral and religious knowledge might accurately be described as "educational." It is described as "educational" rather than a means of only indoctrination because obviously the planters perceived some difference. Had only indoctrination been occurring planter complaints would have been fewer. The problem facing the missionaries was how to reconcile an indoctrination the planters would have approved of with the need to teach literacy which the planters could not approve of. Because of the dilemma missionaries skirted around the law and by doing so increased the inevitable conflict and tension between them and the planting class.

The missionaries wanted to "better"[2] their clients, spiritually and morally, and the improvement they sought could only come through religious knowledge. This knowledge was best gained through scripture reading. Reading was the most effectual means of leading a slave out of his ignorance. Men must also come to know that there was neither good knowledge nor true virtue without revelation and God's grace. The missionaries, as a consequence of their firm belief in reading being an essential instrument of education, consciously planned their methods and discriminately selected the content of education so that they might initiate the slave and apprentice into godliness and good learning. Christianization was viewed as the most worthwhile of human endeavours. At no time did these enthusiastic men instruct in a willy-nilly fashion. At no time were they only preachers; their conscious, deliberate, planned, and often very systematic methods of instruction refute this. They were in fact, in many cases, pedagogically ahead of their time. The Infant Method, the Lancasterian and National systems, and ordered catechetical instruction, as well as the use of didactic reading materials and other materials with scriptural content clearly suggest their interest in educational matters.

For any initiation into the public world of white religion to occur, it was axiomatic that literacy be taught. Through reading and writing, the potential convert would be encouraged to explore those evidential truths of revelation and voluntarily offer himself for conversion. Although conversion was hardly a cognitive act, neither can it be entirely dismissed as one with no cognition at all; true it was often an emotional and quixotic commitment, but it cannot be said to be unwitting and coerced. To say those slaves who became Christians were duped into it is to deny them any choices or any sense in the matter. As slaves had so few choices of importance in the ordering of their lives, one cannot lightly dismiss one of the only choices that seemed open to them — to either choose or reject Christianity.

The distinctions made by planters between missionary teaching as indoctrination and as education caused problems to arise in the broader society. The planter class obviously thought education rather than indoctrination was taking place. Once reading and writing were introduced into the curriculum the difference to them was clear. Thus, ironically, literacy skills, so crucial to christianizing, proved to be sources of embarrassment and constraint to missionary endeavours. So much so, that prohibitions were placed upon them of such an importunate nature that although initially reluctant to do so, some missionaries joined in the general protest against slavery itself. Even those missionaries who declined visible militancy supported it by their silence. They demanded that their classrooms be places to instruct the slaves in the manner and with the methods they chose. Their schoolhouses, they insisted, must be independent of planter control and interference.

On the matter of literacy, missionary beliefs were clearly not congruent with the society at large. Neither were they one with their contempories in their belief that the slave was educable. To hold as many missionaries did that he was equal in intellectual and spiritual faculties to white man isolated them even more from the dominant society. However, it was not only the beliefs which the missionary brought with him which created opposition in the dominant power group; more importantly they acted upon such beliefs and actually provided a moral and religious education with reading and writing.

The vigor with which they implemented their educational and religious principles brought down upon them emnity and opposition.

It was the issue of literacy more than anything else that caused the strained relationships between planters and missionaries. Religious principles, if orally transmitted through exhortation, preaching, catechizing, or the like, might have been endurable. But a slave society cannot withstand the onslaughts of reading and writing. He who had formerly been only an ignorant, illiterate slave, was now to gain access to other than religious knowledge. The planters therefore were hostile to missionary attempts to introduce literacy and considered the presence of missionaries as a threat to the existing order.

Long before emancipation, planters and missionaries were reacting to each other with hostility, contempt, and deepseated suspicion. An impasse had been reached between the group which had claim on the bodies of men and the group laid claim on their souls. What then were the mutual perceptions of missionaries, planters and slaves?

Missionaries as part of the dominant white class were automatically part of the significant reference group, even if they did not participate in an important measure of status and power, that is, slave ownership. They were moreover free men and this in itself was of significance to slaves. To be white and free were important distinctions and demanded some deference from those who were neither. The slaves perceived several clear advantages in membership on a voluntary basis in a group clearly identified with the dominant culture. The mission provided a sense of community, much needed in a society which was both fragmented and brutalized. The missionary moreover gave respectable and respected leadership. Being opposed by the planters made them easier to identify with for clearly they were on the side of the slaves! The church groups to which they belonged offered opportunities for leadership, articulation, discussion, the development of organizational skills, and a certain amount of expressive social action.

A major purpose of the enquiry was to ascertain any changes in education from slavery to apprenticeship. Did the educational aims and forms and the relationships they led to alter in any perceptible manner during the second phase? The manifest functions of education during apprenticeship included the aims of christianizing, civilizing, maintaining social order, and preparing the apprentice for freedom. In themselves these aims are so all-inclusive and ambitious as to be not easily managed or analyzed. The practically minded missionary was forced into implementing such aims in suitable educational programs.

A consistent theme of education during apprenticeship was the desire to inculcate certain virtues, particularly industry, fidelity, and sobriety. These virtues were constantly evidenced in catechisms, tracts, monitorial lessons, infant school materials, and the literature included in the Sunday School Union Catalogue. They were consistent not only with evangelical education generally but seen as appropriate requisitions for the coming state of freedom.

Although missionary education was the same "class" education offered to the "poor" in Britain it may well be that it was in some respects qualitatively better than that received by the poor of England in Sunday, day, and charity schools. For example, although they used the monitorial systems there are sure grounds for maintaining that these were somewhat modified versions to suit the clientele and the circumstances. Moreover, missionary schools were rarely packed to the walls in the way monitorial schools were in a British industrial centre. Smaller numbers of students led to a greater individuation, if not in the learning experience itself, then certainly in the relationship between teacher and student. This more personal relationship arose out of the missionary concern for the spiritual life of the student. Possibly the missionaries who used the Infant Method responded to the more personalized approach the method lent itself to.

Generally speaking, the differences between slave and apprentice education were largely quantitative. This was due to the input from the Negro Education Grant of which missionaries were major beneficiaries. The Negro Education Grant contributed significantly to changed relationships between the three reference groups. The altered relationships arose out of the urgency to consolidate existing influence and resources. The urgent need to train a class of indigenous leaders to replace themselves significantly altered the missionary perception of the apprenticed negroes.

In the four years of apprenticeship, a rise in missionary schooling can be demonstrated even with the inadequate figures to work from. The CMS figures indicate that over the five year period of 1833-1838 six times as many pupils were attending their schools.

However, this appears more significant than it actually was because CMS impact was negligible before Emancipation. The BMS in Jamaica continued to accelerate in influence with a 70% growth rate in these years as compared with the Wesleyan Antiguan experience of a growth of 30%. No conclusive remarks can be made about the LMS impact during this time period because of the obtuseness of so many of their figures despite the profuseness of their correspondence at this time. What appeared to be a decline from 2,827 pupils to 1,344 pupils cannot be assumed an accurate reflection because the first figure probably includes all scholars, whereas the latter figure indicates only day scholars. Generally, the LMS did not demonstrate the same numerical effectiveness as the other societies and this can be partially explained by the dissension within its ranks as well as three missionary deaths in the year 1837. At the same time there occurred a disintegration of the missionaries as a group with the same interests and identifications. Comparing themselves with the other denominations with regard to success and failure proved to be psychologically fragmenting.[3] What had been a previously united reference group divided into multiple groups whose denominational affiliations became more important than the broader allegiance to evangelical Christianity.[4]

Economic realities are prone to bring altruism down to earth. The missionaries were faced with the economic reality that the knowledge they imparted through their education would enable their pupils to replace them as teachers and leaders. Therefore, during apprenticeship an increasing ambivalence to the negroes can be detected.

Although not initially economically motivated, such self interests were to assume a greater importance. As their appointments became less secure and their positions more precarious, the compulsion to missionary activity was replaced by the attractiveness of a permanent ministry among people to whom they had naturally become attached.

Under the new conditions the missionaries took on a new significance as a group for the planters. They were now seen as useful agents in preparing the apprentices to become an industrious peasantry in freedom. With the shift in perception came an accompanying improvement in mutual cordiality, although relationships between the two groups retained a certain amount of suspicion.

Finally, the new conditions more sharply focused the significance of the missionaries to the apprentices. They became more clearly identified as the means of instruction, not only of a religious nature but of other forms of knowledge which could serve to make possible minimal social mobility during freedom. Christian apprentices clearly perceived the missionaries as the stepping stones to realizing their own capacity for christian leadership. The missionaries, as the significant reference group, had the power either to aid or prevent potential christian leaders from realizing what amounted to fairly modest ambitions. Herein lay a central dilemma for the missionary.

The main source of internal conflict for the apprentice who saw himself as a potential leader was that he was a member of a christian community and had expectations consistent with this group identification. However, when the response to these expectations by his white "brother" was negative, the "invidious self-depreciation" which had been the consequence of slavery was, if anything, increased. As slavery was no longer the source of his low self-esteem, either ignorance or colour came to be the alleged source of their inferiority. The exceptions to this negative reaction were mostly found among the Baptists and Methodists.

In their denying apprentices full participation in their leadership, the missionaries of the LMS and CMS were in some respects justified. Most apprentices were deficient in formal learning and there had not been enough time since slavery to train an adequate native leadership. In addition to protecting their own interests, the missionaries were fearful of leaving their converts to the ravages of "Satan," ignorance, and native teachers and leaders. The problem, however, was more of a lack of faith, not in God, but in men.

On looking back on this aspect of West Indian history a few concluding observations can be made. Firstly, the missionaries saw themselves as the bridge between two cultures, the dominant European culture and the culture of bondage. Initially the missionaries offered possibilities of entry into the dominant culture to those who assimilated its values, norms, and behaviours, as manifested in Christianity. The missionaries were firmly convinced that christianizing was the same as civilizing and a crucial means of entry into the dominant culture. Certainly literacy was an important part of this entry.

The missionaries saw the slave and apprentice likewise as yet another bridge between two cultures. The christianized negro bore witness to the effect of religious knowledge. He had been given the ability to comprehend this world - religion, reading, and writing - albeit his knowledge was limited. Although he was a mixture of two cultures, a black man with white values, a slave identifying with the master, it is quite inappropriate to dub him henceforth as an "Uncle Tom." This type of denigration shows contempt for the remarkable adaptability of men under demoralizing circumstances and the cultural modifications which oppression creates. It ignores the borrowing of elements which are functional as defense mechanisms to the ordinarily indefensible degradation one group can inflict upon another. If the slave or apprentice became a Christian for pragmatic reasons, it is simplistic to infer that he was either exploited by fanatics because of his low state of psychological resistance or that he in so doing betrayed his own culture. If he became "contaminated" by missionary values it was only after he had already been contaminated by other worse kinds of European values learned by him or his ancestors in capture, or during the transatlantic trauma, auction, seasoning, and finally, perpetual bondage.

Those slaves who became christianized were not coerced into it. The despair of the missionaries at the numbers still unconverted proves this to be the case. All wanted a share in the knowledge and instruction only accessible to them through the missions or church schools. They became Christians and did not, by all accounts, feel any loss to themselves or betrayal of their people by such affiliation. They saw Christianity as an addition to themselves and not as a diminishment. No amount of superciliousness can make this otherwise, although one might argue convincingly about the subtleties of indoctrination, or about their cultural betrayal and capitulation to the dominant culture. As to the attitudes of non-christian slaves and apprentices toward the converted there is no evidence to make a case one way or the other as to whether they saw it as treachery, expedience, or even madness!

To put it simply, to a slave it was probably quite reasonable to acknowledge the dominance of white values in a slave society. Objectively speaking, these values included Christianity. To defy and deride white culture could not advantage a slave; indeed it could instead bring him into jeopardy and result in reprisal. Among any given group of oppressed people we observe only a handful of heroes and rebels. The majority will try to avoid trouble, be deferential if they must, and adopt new values which might advantage them if they can. This is particularly true where punishment can reach the inhumane proportions it did during slavery.

It is important to remember that the missionaries included some secular education as distinct from religious instruction. Some appreciation of those subjects and learning which were not purely religious was another manifest function of missionary education. They sometimes taught geography, history, and arithmetic. Even a limited introduction into these areas provided a perspective to the slave and apprentice which otherwise might have been denied them. For those who learned literacy skills, there were certain advantages to be gained among their own people, especially in the villages which grew up during apprenticeship and after 1838. The man with even a little learning is usually more respected than the one with no learning.

The missionary impact on the British West Indies was a short-lived one. Although a short-lived experience it was nevertheless a crucial one in West Indian education. Without the missions the number of educated negroes would have been fewer, the educational background of the islands more impoverished. When the societies withdrew their former support in the early forties, their schools remained as did many of their methods, their teachers, their attitudes and above all their religious enthusiasm.[5] Cultural borrowing and modification adds diversity and dimension to a culture; it need not be seen as a diminishment. The social climate of the West Indies had changed somewhat because of their endeavours. Without the efforts of missionaries to provide religious instruction and limited education to slaves and apprentices, the deplorable history of the West Indies during that frightful period would have been even more iniquitous.

NOTES TO CONCLUSION

[1] Philip Wright, Knibb "The Notorious" (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1973), p. 158.

[2] Those philosophers of education who have conceptually analyzed the term usually include such conditions as worthwhileness, wittingness on the part of the learner, the providing of cognitive perspective, and the conscious and deliberate initiation into the public world of knowledge. Education implies "betterment." R. S. Peters discusses all of these conditions in Ethics and Education (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970).

[3] Robert Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (revised ed.; Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957), p. 328.

[4] Merton, p. 336.

[5] The CMS decided to relinquish the Jamaica mission to the general Ecclesiastical establishment in July 1839, and in 1841 the first stages of take over were occurring. Coates to Bishop of Jamaica, April 13, 1841, CW/L3 (1839-58), p. 96. The LMS Minutes of Occasional Committees (1841-52) record withdrawal of funds after an investigation of financial affairs in 1852. A resolution of the Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society in 1842 opted for independency although debts and drought in 1844 led to a further grant for chapel debts in 1845. The WMMS included the West Indies Mission under the auspices of the British Conference until the 1883 minutes recorded that "West Indies Conferences" would be established although the Antiguan district expressed unwillingness to go along with the decision a year later. Methodist Missionary Society Annual Report (April 1883), p. 12.

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